

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1942

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## **MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY**

Edited by

**FREDERICK M. PAELFORD**

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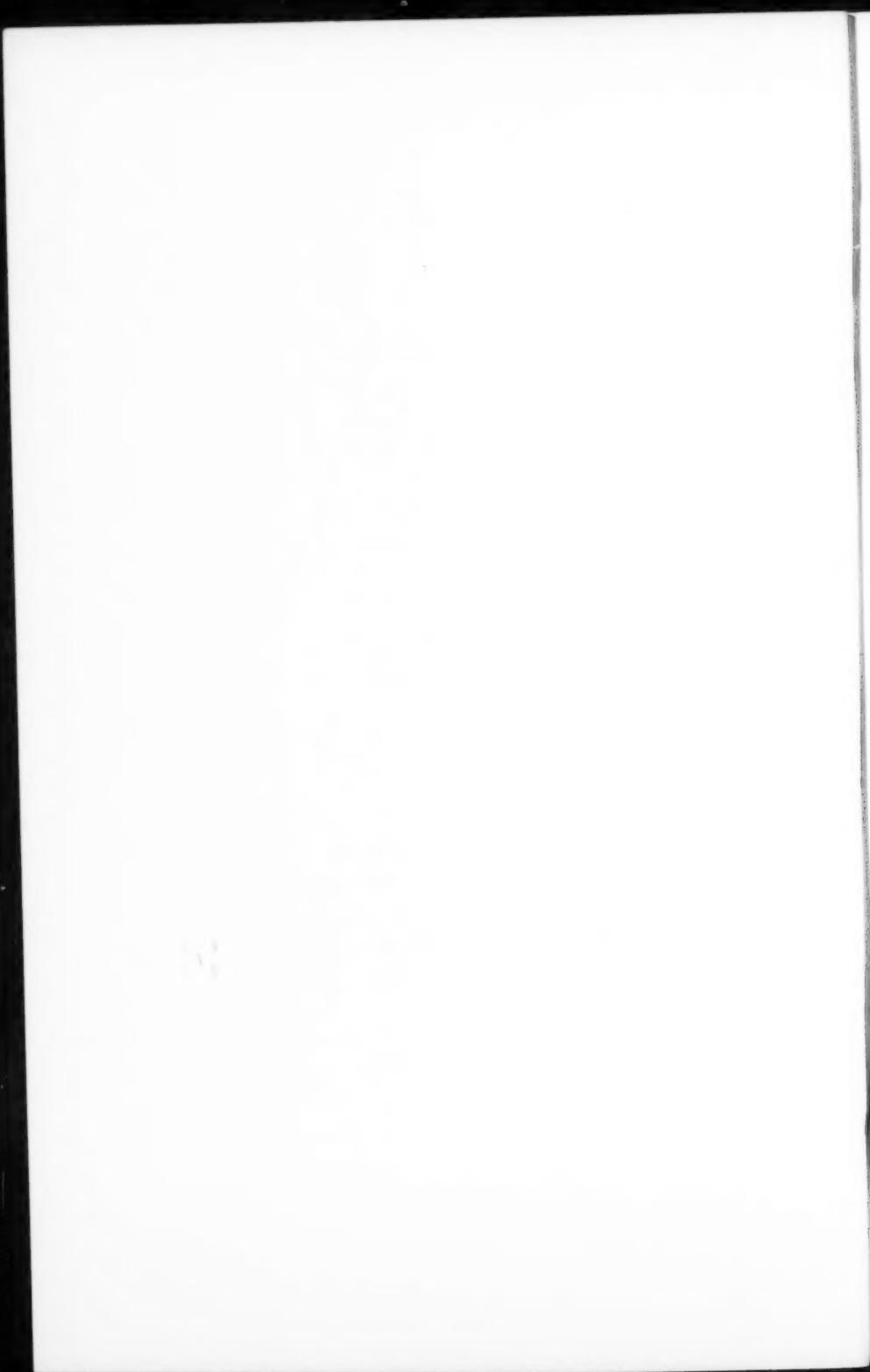
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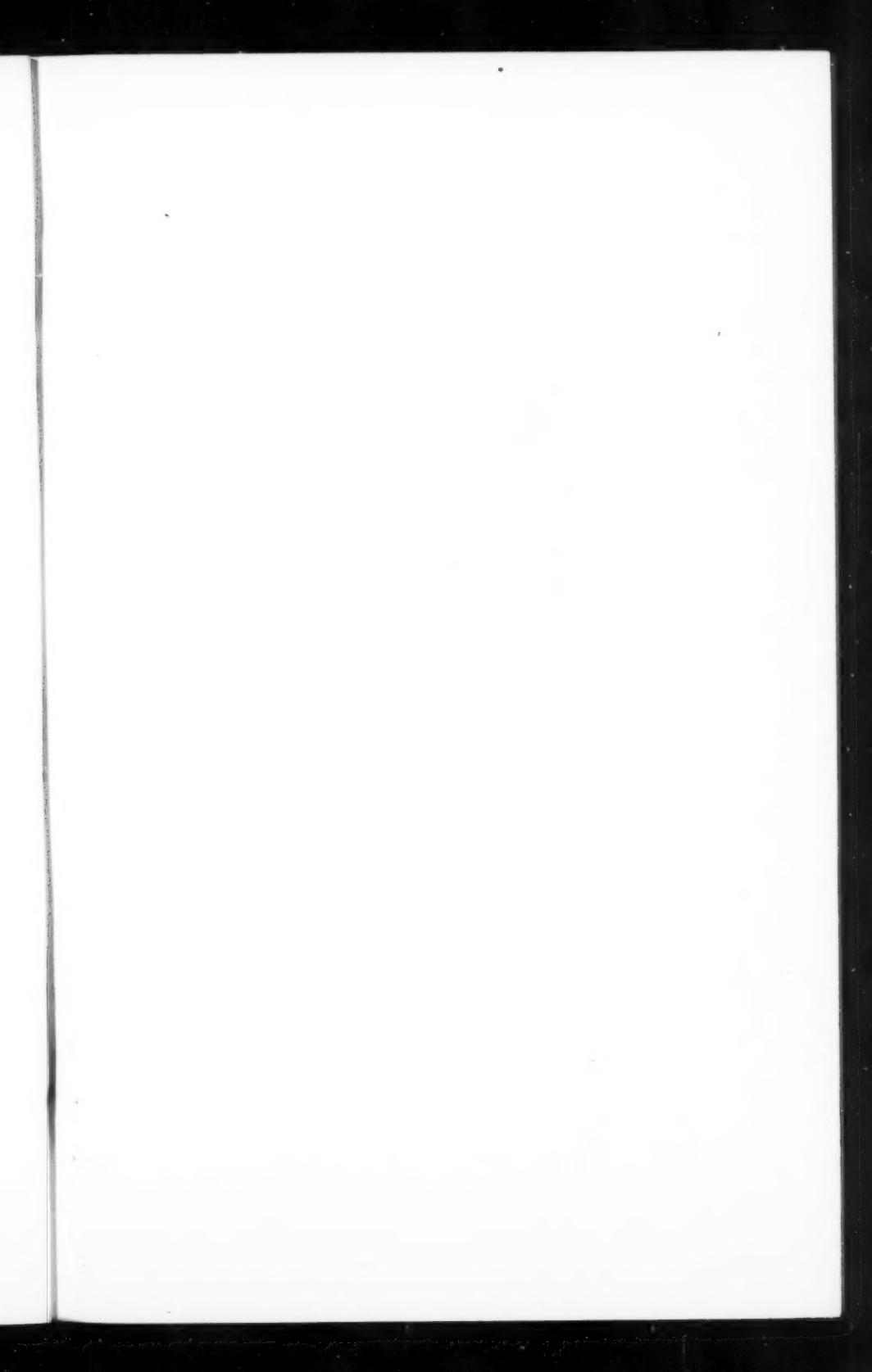
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\* Reviews will be resumed with the March number.







*This number of the MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY honors the memory of Professor Ray Heffner, who was instrumental in establishing the journal, and who was Managing Editor until his death last February. The opening paper was read before the Spenser Group of the Modern Language Association at the Indianapolis meeting. We are happy to be able to follow it with several papers that fall in the period of Professor Heffner's special interest, some of which were written by his intimate friends.*

## SPENSER'S *VIEW OF IRELAND*: SOME OBSERVATIONS

By RAY HEFFNER

Edmund Spenser, like every Renaissance man, looked forward to a career in the service of the state. He may have considered the church, but if he did, he rejected it and sought to make a place in the world in the service of his country. It is possible that Spenser, the poet, is referred to in the record which Peter Cunningham noted in the *Accounts of Rebels* of the payment, in 1569, to one Edmonde Spenser, of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence for carrying letters from Sir Henry Norrys, then Ambassador in France, to the Queen. If this is the poet, he began his public career while still an undergraduate. It is most likely some other Edmund Spenser. We cannot be sure, likewise, that Spenser's statement, in his *View*, that he was in Ireland in 1577 can be taken literally, but as Carpenter says, it is possible that he was there, and in some way employed by Sir Henry Sidney. We are certain, however, that in 1578 he served as Secretary to the Bishop of Rochester. We are also certain that in 1579 he was in the service of the Earl of Leicester, but again we cannot be sure that he was employed abroad. From 1580 to 1582, he acted as one of the Secretaries to Lord Deputy Grey, accompanying him on many of his expeditions and attending to many details other than writing of letters and copying of documents. It is recorded, for example, in the *Book of Concordatums*, that Spenser handled, between 1580 and 1582, in excess of 590 pounds, which he paid as rewards to messengers. In 1581, he was appointed clerk in chancery for faculties. In 1583 and 1584, he acted as one of the Commissioners of Musters in Kildaire and, if Mr. Jenkins is right, in 1584 he served as Bryskett's deputy clerk of the Council of Munster. Certainly he was in that office in 1588. In 1598, he was nominated by the Privy Council to be sheriff of the county of Cork. In December of that year, he performed his last service by carrying letters from Norrys to members of the government in England.

This is not a particularly distinguished record. Mr. Renwick describes Spenser as "a minor official, a clerk rather than an agent, living on fees and on sundry grants." The largest of these grants is the well known Kilcolman estate of about 3000 acres. That it was not particularly profitable to Spenser is evidenced by the fact that

he died in poverty. That he starved to death is probably not literally true, for Mrs. Bennett has shown that he received the usual reward for carrying letters.<sup>1</sup>

It would be idle to speculate as to what Spenser's career might have been if Lord Grey had been permitted to remain at his post, but I think no one would deny that between the recall of Grey, in 1582, and the visit of Raleigh, in 1589, Spenser was without a patron. You will notice that apparently most of his grants and offices during that time were in some way connected with Bryskett. As I have indicated in another place, Spenser received the Kilcolman estate not as a reward from an admiring Queen or a grateful government, but by virtue of his official position as clerk of the Council of Munster.<sup>2</sup> Lord Roche claimed these lands as his, and was able to drive off Andrew Read, the first recipient of this grant. Spenser, through his connection with the council, was able to occupy and hold the estate. While we are about it, we might as well destroy another romantic notion, namely, the idea that Spenser lived in the old castle at Kilcolman. There are few today who do not accept the existence of a house there, but from time to time we see the assertion that Spenser lived in the old castle. In the Public Record office in Dublin there is preserved a certified copy of the Desmond survey (1586). In it is a description of the Kilcolman estate. The castle is described (in Latin) as "a large castle, old, and dilapidated, which at the present time has no use except to shelter cattle in the night." When I visited Kilcolman in 1931, it was still being used as a cowbarn. But to get back to Spenser's public career. Out of this experience—and he had, by 1596, at least sixteen years of varied experience in Ireland—he wrote while in England his main political treatise, *A View of Ireland*. He probably had been collecting notes on the antiquities of Ireland for some time, although, as Renwick observes, his reading is not nearly so wide as it at first glance appears. He had undoubtedly discussed with Grey, the Norrys brothers, Sir Richard Bingham and other officials, the difficult problem of Ireland, and he had also made many personal observations. In a conversation, Mr. Gottfried once voiced the opinion that we should not take literally, in a dialogue, such statements as "I was there" and "I saw," but I do not believe that he would question that there are many personal reflections in the *View*. We have neglected this aspect, and have tended to read and study Spenser's document too much as a literary treatise. If we keep in mind Spen-

<sup>1</sup> Josephine Waters Bennett, "Did Spenser Starve?" *MLN*, LII (1937), 400-401.

<sup>2</sup> "Spenser's Acquisition of Kilcolman," *MLN*, XLVI (1931), 493-8.

ser's insistent belief that ancient customs and laws were basic cause for many of the evils in Ireland, it is to be expected that he would combine historical study with practical advice in such a work. But that is not to say that the primary purpose in writing this treatise was not an immediate and practical one.

I believe that Spenser was urged by some very powerful people in the critical year of 1596 to give them the benefit of his long experience. One of those persons, I feel reasonably certain, was the Earl of Essex. It was in 1596 that Essex drew up for the Queen a statement on Irish affairs, pointing out that one of the main dangers to be feared from Spain was invasion through Ireland. It is significant that in 1596 Spenser was openly courting the favor of this great noble. It is also very significant that in 1601, when Essex's secretary, Green, made copies for preservation of the Earl's most important papers, Spenser's *View* was among them. These papers, all in Green's handwriting, and with the *View*, are now in the Folger Library. Whether or not Essex is "that noble person" referred to in the *View*, the inclusion of his treatise in these papers is strong evidence that Essex was particularly interested in Spenser's comments on Ireland. I have a suspicion, although I am not willing to make a positive statement, that the *View of Ireland* was written at the instigation of Essex and designed primarily to advise him on that unhappy country.

Another Irish official, Sir Arthur Chichester, who was Lord Deputy after 1604, owned a copy. His ownership is attested by his signature on one of the manuscripts now preserved at the British Museum.<sup>3</sup>

Still another evidence of the high esteem in which Spenser's *View* was held is the fact that one manuscript, the Gough, preserved at the Bodleian, was prepared for publication. Unfortunately, Mr. Renwick did not consult the Gough manuscript although he originally intended to base his text on Rawlinson B, preserved in the same place. He assumed that because the Rawlinson manuscript was the one submitted to the licensers it represented a text that would have been published had the intended printing in 1597 been carried out. The Rawlinson manuscript, as one can see from Mr. Renwick's edition,<sup>4</sup> is one of the worst in existence, and is very close to the one at Lambeth Palace and one in the University of Cambridge Library. I cannot stop here to give the evidence, but I believe that I can show in the textual notes of the forthcoming

<sup>3</sup> BM Add. MS 22022.

<sup>4</sup> *A View of the Present State of Ireland . . . from MS Rawlinson B. 487 in the Bodleian and MS 188.221 in Caius College, Cam.* (London, 1934).

Variorum volume that the Rawlinson manuscript was copied from the Cambridge. However that may be, the true situation more likely is that Lownes, in a hurry to have the treatise approved and its entry in the *Stationers' Register* recorded, took a hurried copy from the first manuscript available to him. Had he proceeded with the publication, he would undoubtedly have sought a more exact copy. It is regrettable, but nevertheless true, that Mr. Renwick's "pious purpose" of fulfilling Lownes' intention landed far from the mark. It is a source of gratification, however, that he corrected his edition even after it was in the hands of the printers, and as it now stands, it is a reproduction of the good text of the Caius College manuscript. Mr. Renwick says that he did not use the Gough manuscript, and from my check of his text and readings against the original manuscript and the photostat, I am convinced that he worked mostly from the photostat, even of the Rawlinson.

Although the Gough manuscript is incomplete and breaks off abruptly, it was obviously prepared for publication. It is in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand, and has proper names inserted in large italics. There are numerous marginal notes of the nature of summaries and references, and, most important of all, a title page the wording of which makes it absolutely certain that it was designed for publication.

Ireland's Survey  
or A  
Historical Dialogue & View of

ancient & modern times wherein is discoursed the ancient originalls of the Irish Nation, and the severall conquests made of them, and their first reducing to Christianitie, also the Antiquity of their Letters, Characters, & Learning.

Together with their Tenures and Ancient &  
Modern Laws & Customs to them only particular.

Their Habitts Armes Soldiers & Manners of Fights Lyueings & euill Wayes: Also how they use and bestow their Church Llieings. And y<sup>e</sup> Authors opinion out of long employmēt and experiance there how that Realme may be reduced to Obedience and Civility. And yeild a great Reuenue to the State of England.

With many other matters & things both  
pleasant profitable & worthy Observation  
to y<sup>e</sup> Judicious Reader.

We notice in this not only the familiar appeal to the reader, but also a recognition of Spenser as an authority on Irish manners. Note particularly the statement "And y<sup>e</sup> Authors opinion out of

long employment and experience there how that Realme may be reduced to Obedience and Civility."

It is evident, too, from this title page, that although the publisher expected Spenser's *View* to be read as a treatise on the antiquities of Ireland, yet the main purpose, to him at least, was a practicable solution of the English difficulties in that island. The author, Edmund Spenser, was an authority not only because of his literary reputation, but also, and mainly, because of his "long employment there."

This can be shown by a reading of the whole letter sent by the Privy Council to the Lords Justices of Ireland, and now in the British Museum as Harleian MS No. 286, page 272. We are familiar with a few phrases from that letter, but the following transcript will convince us, I hope, that the Privy Council considered Spenser an authority on Irish manners, and that they took particular cognizance of his experience although it had been in minor positions. This seems to me a recognition of the value of the *View of Ireland* as a practical political treatise. The letter follows:

[Dated "Last of Sept. 1598"]

A letter to the LSs Justices of of [sic] Ireland. Though we doubt not but yow will wthout any motiō from vs have good regard for the appointing of meeete and serviceable p sons to bee sheriffs in the severall countees wch is a matter of great importance especially at this tyme when all p ts of the Realme are touched wth the infection of Rebellion. Yet wee thinke it not amiss therefore to comend unto you such men as wee hold to bee fitt for that office. Amonge whom wee may in fully\* reckon Edmond Spencer a gentleman dwelling in the countie of Corke who is so well known unto yo<sup>r</sup> LSs for his good and commendable p ts (beeing a man endowed wth good knowledge in learning and not vnskillfull as wthout experiance in the service of the warrs) as wee need not vse many woords in his behalf. And therefore as wee are of opinion that yo<sup>w</sup> will fauor him for hymself and of yo<sup>r</sup> owne accord so we do pray yo<sup>w</sup> that this letter [abbr.] may increase his credits so farr forth with yo<sup>w</sup> as that he may not fayle to bee appointed Sheriffe of the countie\*\* of Cork vnless there by yo<sup>w</sup> knownen some important cause to the contrary. We arre psuaded he will so behave himself in the place as yo<sup>w</sup> shall have inst cause to allowe of O<sup>r</sup> [our] comendation and his good service. And so. [Rest blotted.]

\* An abbreviation which may not be correctly transcribed.

\*\* Word above line, apparently "towne," deleted.

I have said before that Spenser's last public service was the carrying of letters in December, 1598, from Sir Thomas Norrys to Secretary Cecil and the Privy Council. I should perhaps amend that statement and include the document known as "A Brief View of Ireland." This document has been questioned by Mr. Renwick and others. Mr. Renwick points out that the style is high flown and totally unlike Spenser's other prose. He finds it impossible to believe that Spenser would have attacked Norrys and upheld Ormond. These do not seem to me strong enough reasons for denying Spenser's authorship. In the first place, the document is addressed to the Queen, and it was customary to write to her in a much "higher style than was used in ordinary discourse." There was even a distinction in handwriting. Most of the memorials to Queen Elizabeth were in the italic rather than the secretary hand. It must also be remembered that if Spenser wrote "A Brief View of Ireland," he wrote it at a time when he was in a highly disturbed and emotional state. He had just seen everything that he owned destroyed, and it is possible that he took part in the fight at Kilcolman. Certainly many of his friends and tenants were destroyed by the rebels. Calmness was not to be expected. His attitude toward Norrys at this particular time would be hard to determine. My main reason for ascribing this document to Spenser, however, is that it is so ascribed in two manuscript versions. One, in the Public Record office at London, is well known and is printed in Grosart's edition. In the British Museum, however, is a manuscript copy of the first part of this treatise, endorsed "Spenser's Discourse Briefly of Ireland." Thus, for the first part at least, we have two independent ascriptions to Spenser. The Harleian manuscript was, as will be shown, certainly written in 1599, and refers to Essex's expedition against the Irish rebels.

We can see that this is a summary of Spenser's proposal for bringing the Irish under English subjection and for bringing order into that troubled country. If time permitted, I should like to go through the *View* and point out how almost every sentence in it contributes to Spenser's final solution. I need not quote Mr. Renwick further to show that Spenser's plan was a practicable one and that in the details of garrisoning a country he showed both insight and knowledge of that country and of its people.

Spenser's attitude toward Ireland and the Irish people has been discussed many times, usually by Irish writers. It is the general impression that Spenser advocated extermination of the Irish by any means, but principally by starvation. This is literally not true. A passage which has been cited in support of this impression is simply

an observation of what Spenser saw in Munster where his feeling at that time was one of horror. This passage should be read, not out of its context, but along with a preceding one to be found on page 650 of the Globe edition:

*Eudox.* How then doe you thinke is the reformation therof to be begunne, yf not by lawes and ordinaunces?

*Iren.* Even by the swoorde; for all those evills must first be cutt away with a strong hand, before any good can be planted; like as the corrupt braunches and unholsome boughes are first to be pruned, and the fowle mosse clesned and scraped away, before the tree can bring foorth any good fruite.

*Eudox.* Did you blame me, even nowe, for wishing Kearne, Horse-boys, and Kearrooghs, to be cleane cutt of, as to violent a meanes, and doe you your self nowe prescribe the same medicine? Is not the swoord the most violent redress that may be used for any evill?

*Iren.* It is soe; but yet where noe other remedye may be founde, nor noe hope of recoverye had, there must needs this violent meanes be used. As for the loose kind of people which ye would have cutt of I blamed it, for that they might otherwise be brought perhaps to good, as namely by this way which I sett before you.

*Eudox.* Is not your way all one in effect with the former, which you founde faulthe with, save onely this oddes, that I sayd by the halter, and you say by the swoorde? What difference is there?

*Iren.* There is surely greate difference when you shall understand it; for by the swoorde which I named, I doe not meane the cutting of of all that nation with the swoorde, which farre be it from me that I should ever thinke soe desperatly, or wish soe uncharitably, but by the swoorde I meane the royll power of the Prince, which ought to stretche it self foorth in the cheifest strength to the redressing and cutting of of those evills, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people by good ordinaunces and government may be made goode; but the evill that is of it self evill will never become good.

*Eudox.* I pray you then declare your mynde at large, how you would wish that sword, which you meane, to be used to the reformation of all those evills.

*Iren.* The first thing must be to send over into that realme such a stronge power of men, as that shall perforse bring in all that rebellious route of loose people, which either doe nowe stande out in open armes, or in wandring companyes doe keep the woodes, spoyling the good subject.

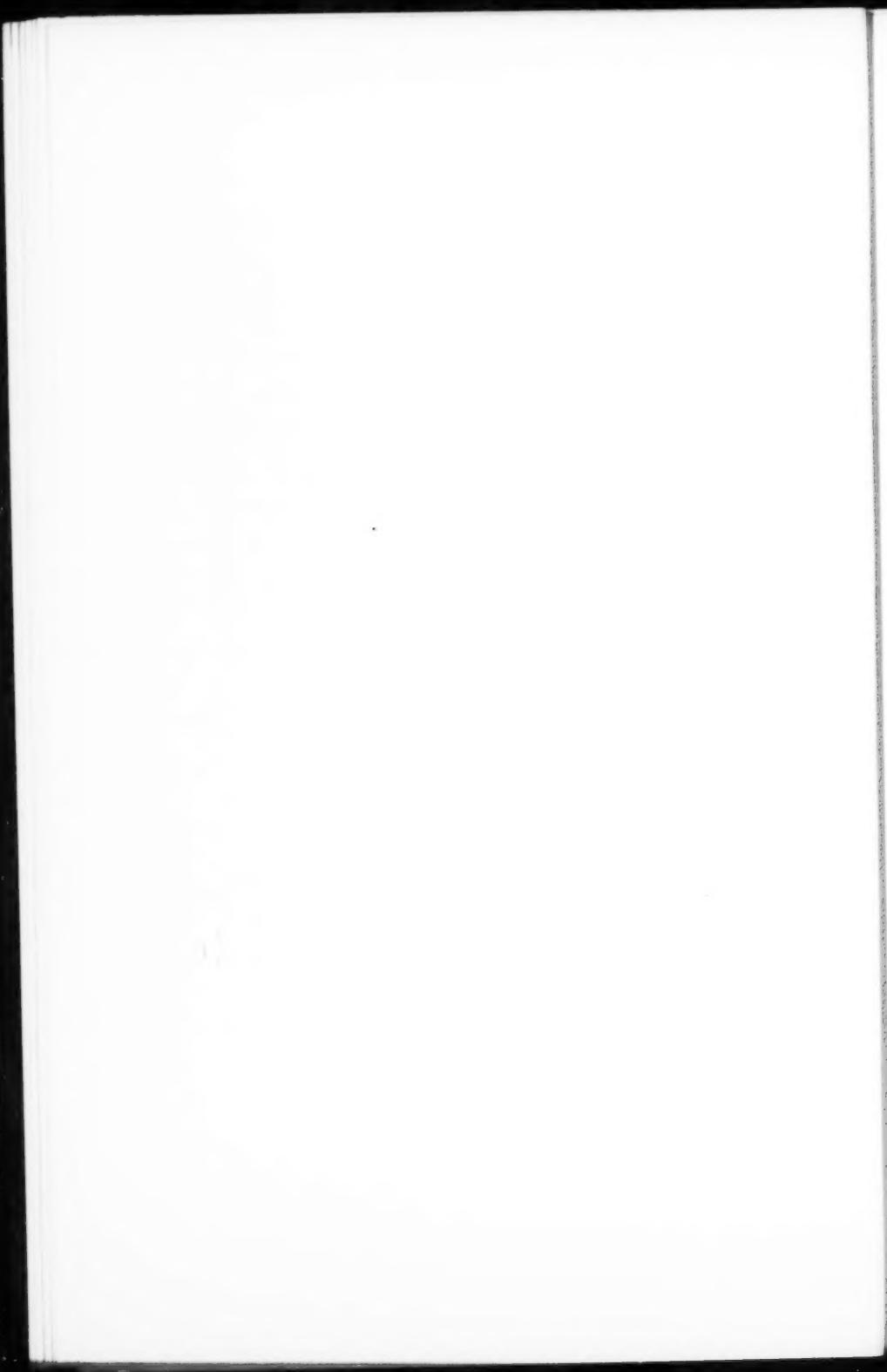
This I think represents Spenser's real attitude. Anyone who reads his poetry will be convinced that by 1596 he had come to love his Irish home. If we want any further testimony we shall find it again on page 653 where he proposes to allow any of the Irish who so desire to submit to English authority within a reasonable time, and to receive clemency. You will note here that he seems to believe that churls, the farmers and agricultural workers, would submit and would become good citizens. Spenser's denunciations of the Irish are generally leveled at Kerns and other soldiers and outlaws. But let him speak for himself (p. 653):

*Iren. Noe; but at the beginning of those warres, and when the garrisons are well plaunted and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generallye and to come to theyr knowledge:—That what persons soever would within twenty dayes absolutly submitt themselves, (excepting only the very principalls and ringleaders) should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of those garrisons, such a treour and neere consideration of theyr perillous estate wilbe stricken into most of them, that they will covett to drawe awaye from theyr leaders. And agayne I well knowe that the rebels themselves (as I sawe by proof in the Desmonds warres) will turne away all theyr rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hindes, (which they call churles), which would only wast theyr victualls, and yeeld them noe ayde; but theyr cattell they will surely keepe away: These therfore, though pollicye would turne them backe agayne that they might the rather consume and afflitle the other rebels, yet in a pityfull commiseration I could wish them to be receaved: the rather for that this base sorte people doth not for the most parte rebell of himself, having noe harte therunto, but is of force drawnen by the graunde rebels into theyr actions, and carried away with the yolence of the stremme, els he should be sure to loose all that he hath, and perhaps his life also; the which nowe he carryeth unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but he is there by the strong rebels themselves soone turned out of all, soe that the constrainte herof may in him deserve pardon.*

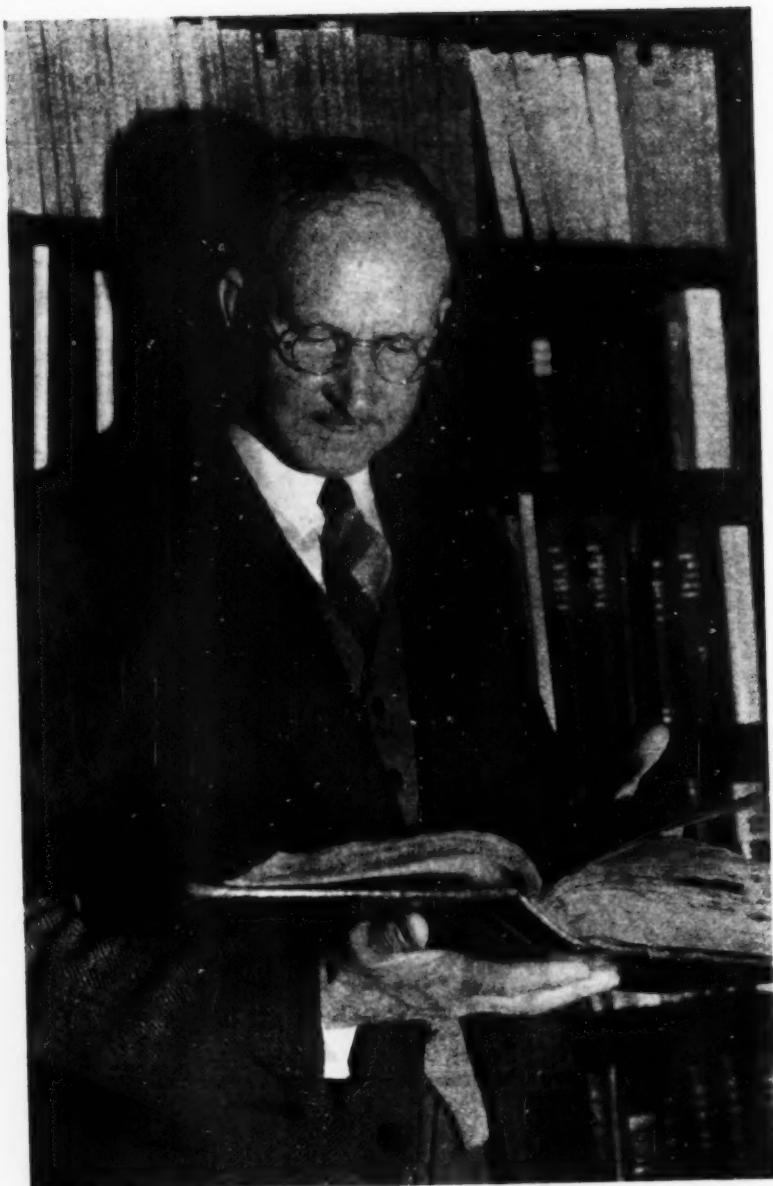
I want to make one other observation, and that is in the matter of religion. Spenser insists that general reformation of religion in Ireland is essential, but in a passage that is really remarkable in Elizabethan writing he argues forcefully against attempt to convert the Irish to the English Church by strong measures. He argues for moderation and persuasion rather than force. He admires the zeal and *fortitude* of the Catholic priests although he condemns their teaching and their beliefs. The following passage, however, in which he likewise condemns the English clergy for their ignorance and their laziness, should convince anyone that if ever Spenser

had been a Puritan, he no longer subscribed to that doctrine in 1596.

*Iren.* Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches, wherof the most parte lye even with the grounde, and some that have bene lately repayred are soe unhandsomelye patched, and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomeliness therof; therfore I would wish that there were order taken to have them builte in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatlye drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting therof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye,—“there is nothing in the seemelye forme and comely orders of the churche.” And, for soe keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the gravest men in the parrish be appoynted, as there be heere in England, which should take the yearlye charge both herof, and also of the schoole-howses, which I wished to be buildded neere to the sayd churches; for mayntenaunce of both which, it were meete that some severall portion of lande were allotted, sith no more mortmains are to be looked for (p. 680).







—Ann DeWitt Reading

## FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD

February 27, 1875-December 3, 1942

For a second time within the year, it becomes the sad duty of the Editorial Board of the *MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY* to announce the loss of its Managing Editor. The present number, designed and edited as a memorial to the late Dr. Ray Heffner, must also announce the death of Dean Frederick Morgan Padelford. In the best of spirits, Dean Padelford had left Seattle to visit his son in Pasadena, and intended to go from there to New York to deliver the Presidential Address before the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America. In Pasadena he succumbed to a sudden heart attack on the afternoon of December 3.

Frederick Morgan Padelford was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, on February 27, 1875. He received his A.B. and A.M. at Colby College, and his Ph.D. at Yale University in 1899. He held two honorary degrees of LL.B., one from his alma mater, Colby College, and the other from Mills College. After teaching two years at the University of Idaho, he came to the University of Washington in 1901. Since that time, he has been a leader at the University in educational policy, in research, in civic association, and in helpfulness to students. As Dean of the Graduate School he has been a guardian of research standards and an influential proponent of the values of the search for truth in all branches of human knowledge.

In their home life, Dean and Mrs. Padelford and their family of four children formed a center for cordial association with many students and the faculty circle. He also found time for many civic engagements with the Seattle Art Museum, the Seattle Art Institute, the Lakeside School, the Saint Nicholas School, the active chapter of his fraternity, Delta Kappa Epsilon, and the Seattle Public Library. With all of these he served in various official capacities.

In addition to these activities, Dean Padelford assigned two hours each day to his own research. His bibliography, which is appended to this tribute, best reveals his continuous work in his chosen

field. During recent years, most of his research time had been spent on the Variorum Spenser and on the *Spenser Allusion Book*, which he had just completed and sent forward for publication. The world of scholarship will long profit by these permanent records of an accurate and discriminating investigator.

Frederick Morgan Padelford lived a good life. Thousands of students have known his gentlemanly character, his humanity, his joviality, his devotion to learning and his friendliness. Our University has for forty-one years profited by his faith in education and in sound scholastic policies. To research men, he has been a model in the high quality of work done, and in all his associations has exemplified the scholarly ideal. The loss of such a man is irreparable, but his strength has become a living part of the culture of our time. He has joined that illustrious company whose energy, upright character, and effective service cannot be forgotten.

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH  
HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND  
CURTIS C. D. VAIL  
EDWARD GODFREY COX\*

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\* Professor Cox will assume the position of Managing Editor with the March number.

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Dr. Padelford was one of the General Editors of the Variorum Spenser from its inception, and was Special Editor of Books I and III. For Book I, he assumed responsibility for the textual readings, a section dealing with punctuation, and the preparation of critical notes to the text. In Book III, he was responsible for the final text, the variants listed from later editions, and the critical textual notes. He was also primarily concerned with the Commentary and Appendices to this volume, and with the preparation of the Appendices for Books IV, V and VI. His treatise on the punctuation of the *Faerie Queene*, in which he was assisted by Miss Dorothy F. Atkinson and Dr. Brents Stirling, although completed earlier, did not appear until Book VI was published.

Dr. Padelford's contribution to the Variorum Spenser project is apparent throughout all the volumes, and includes sections on the Muse of the *Faerie Queene*; the historical, moral, political and spiritual allegories; Spenser and *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*; Spenser's use of the St. George legend (with Matthew O'Connor); the virtue of Temperance in the *Faerie Queene*; the women of the allegory; the virtue of Justice; and numerous critical notes.

Working with Dr. Padelford as General Editors for all volumes were the late Professor Edwin Greenlaw and Professor Charles G. Osgood. The late Dr. Ray Hefner was added to the staff of General Editors for Books IV, V, VI and VII, and was Special Editor of Books IV and V. Dr. Hefner, Dr. J. G. McManaway and Dr. Ernest Strathmann also assisted with Book II. Assistant Editors for Books VI and VII were Dr. McManaway, Miss Dorothy E. Mason and Dr. Brents Stirling.

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ANTHONY COPLEY'S *A FIG FOR FORTUNE*: A ROMAN  
CATHOLIC LEGEND OF HOLINESS\*

By FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD

The imitations of the *Faerie Queene* were inaugurated in 1596 with the publication of an audacious poem entitled *A Fig for Fortune*, wherein the author, Anthony Copley, a Roman Catholic recusant, sought to turn the tables on the Protestants by throwing the machinery of the first book of the *Faerie Queene* into reverse. Thomas Copley, the father of Anthony, created baron by Philip of Spain, was a remote kinsman of Queen Elizabeth and in his earlier years stood high in the royal favor and was a zealous Protestant. Subsequently converted to the Church of Rome, he left England in or about 1570 without permission to do so, and was thereafter the leader of the English fugitives. Anthony, born in 1567, at the age of fifteen "stole away" from England and joined his parents in Rouen. Two years later he was admitted to the English college at Rome, receiving a pension from Pope Gregory, and remained there until 1586. Then he obtained a pension from the Prince of Parma and was in the service of the King of Spain until 1590, when he returned to England without permission. Arrested and placed in the Tower, he sought the good offices of William Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower, to establish him in the confidence of the Privy Council:

And, good sir, I beseech you, let my honourable good lords of her majesty's council, namely my lord treasurer, be satisfied in my faith and truth to my prince and country; and to make proof thereof in whatsoever they shall please to employ me. Surely, sir, I am not returned to enjoy lauds nor livings in any country: for fortune hath not so assigned me: only to the duties of a true and sincere subject I am returned: to stand with my prince and country to my life's end (Strype, *Annals*, 4.14).

Nevertheless he remained a constant object of suspicion. Although the testimony of so cruel and blood-thirsty a man as Richard Topcliffe deserves little credence, the inquisitorial attitude toward Copley

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\* Dr. Padelford was to have read the present paper before the Spenser Group at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, to have been held in New York, December 29-31.

is reflected in a letter which Topcliffe wrote to the Queen under date of June 22, 1592:

Young Anthony Copley, the most desperate youth that liveth, and some others, be most familiar with Southwel. Copley did shoot at a gentleman the last summer, and killed an ox with a musket. And in Horsham church threw his dagger at the parish clerk, and struck it in a seat in the church. There liveth not the like, I think, in England for sudden attempts; nor one upon whom I have good grounds to have watchful eyes (*ibid.*, 4.186).

Upon the death of Elizabeth, Copley was involved in the plot to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, was found guilty and condemned to death. He was pardoned, however, and shortly thereafter turned up at the English college in Rome. With that, the record ceases.

*A Fig for Fortune* is doubtless a more or less idealized objectification of Copley's own political and religious experience. It exalts the Roman Catholic Church as the one true church and condemns the Anglican Church as the Whore of Babylon and the product of Antichrist. At the same time the author is at great pains to profess complete loyalty to Queen and country. It seems incredible that the poem could have escaped censure, and the absence of extant contemporary comment may mean that the poem was immediately called in, although the survival of at least four copies would argue to the contrary. It is dedicated to Anthony Browne, second Viscount Montague, one of the most influential of the Catholic nobility.

"The Argument to the Reader," which gives a concise outline of the poem, reads as follows:

*An Elizian out-cast of Fortune, ranging on his Iade Melancholie through the Desert of his affliction, in hope to find out some where either ease or end of the same, hapneth first upon Catoes ghost a spirit of Dispair & self-misdoom which persuades him to kill himself: But, for she ended her Oratory with a Sulphur vanish fro out his sight, he misdoubted both her and her tale. Then posting onward through the residue of the night; he next chanceth on the spirit of Reuenge: She persuades him blood and treacherie against all his enemies, as th'onlie means to remount to pristin blesse in despight of Fortune: But she likewise manifesting in the end the treason of her tale by a sudden whip away from his eye at the sight of break of day in the East, left him also conceipted of her daunger. Thirdly, rapt from off his Melancholie (which now began to faint vnder him at the light of a new day of Grace) he was suddenly mounted vpon the Steed of Good Desire, and by him brought to Mount-Sion the Temple of Peace; where by Catechrysius an Hermit (who greatlie woondred to see a distressed Elizian in those partes vnder so happye daies of Eliza) he was by him in the house of Deuotion catechized, and there also celestiallyl arm'd by an Angell, and within a while after in-denized by the high Sacrificator a Champion of that Temple against the insults of Fortune; whom I haue*

*titled by the name of Doblessa in respect of the double danger both of her luring and lowring inconstancie: She, whiles the Sionites were all in peaceful adoration of Almighty God in the Temple, came with her Babel Ionian-rout to assault the place, but was eftsoons by the valure of those Templers shamefulie repulsed: Feast and thankes was made to God therfore throughout all the Region; in which solemnite the Grace of God houering ouer the multitude in the Procession-time like a virgin attended vpon with all the Court of heauen, shewr'd downe Roses amongst them, leauing them there a scambling for the same. The Elizian was one that scambled his lap-full among the rest; and for he thought it was his soueraigne Ladie Eliza, and those Roses hers, he was suddenly in ioy therof rapt home againe to Elizium.*

The poem, of 335 six-line stanzas, thus falls into four parts: the temptation to despair, the temptation to revenge, the spiritual instruction and discipline in the house of Devotion, and the service in the Temple. The arguments of Despair are epitomized in the following stanza:

Be not injayld to base Aduersitie,  
Rather slip out thy life at gloryes window,  
One stab will send thee to eternity,  
And rid thee quite and cleane of all thy woe.  
Then there lies life-lesse all Calamity,  
Thy name and Spirrit fayre amountes to glory. (B2<sup>r</sup>.)

The Elizian, like the Red Crosse Knight, is convinced that self-destruction is the solution of his ills, but as he draws his blade Despair suddenly vanishes, leaving the vile smell of sulphur.

Revenge is a malign female figure, her body as pale as death, her eyes sparkling fire, her hair like Medusa's locks, her features distorted into a scowl, and in her hand a sheaf of fire. She argues that acceptance of oppression is weak and feminine, that the manly course is to overthrow your enemies by force or to undermine them by cunning, disregarding your oath when need be and making friend, foe and neutral alike serve your designs. Hell will hold you in honor, and Jove may reward you with redoubled glory. But even as Revenge concludes her appeal, the morning reddens and she disappears; whereupon the Elizian observes:

Euen so (quoth I) is it Reuenges guize  
To be in force by night, be gone by Day?  
Such is not the instinct of Paradize. (D 2.)

The Elizian now spies a shining rock and directs Melancholie toward it, but the jade faints. Then there appears a snow-white jennet, Good Desire, which quickly transports the Elizian to the

house of Devotion, the counterpart of Spenser's House of Holiness. There he beholds Catechrysius disciplining the flesh, but with his streaming eyes entrancedly fastened upon the crucifix. Gazing upon this affecting sight, the Elizian first becomes aware that there is a bliss even in adversity, and then conscious of reviving hope as the Grace of God enters his heart. Straightway Catechrysius emerges from his trance, and welcomes the Elizian as a friend.

At this point in the narrative Copley carefully introduces certain stanzas in praise of Elizabeth and England :

And lastly he thus embracingly bespake me,  
Welcome (*Elizian*-man) a thousand fold  
More deere and shone to *Cathechrysius* eye  
Then all the Pleasant pride of Pearle or Gold:  
Rare, yea all too rare are now adayes  
*Elizas* subjects seen to passe this wayes.

Belike yee are a Paradized people  
That so contain your selves in home-delights,  
As though that only vnder your steeple  
And no wher els were all May-merry Rights:  
A blessed people ye are, if it be so  
And yet me thinkes thou seem'st a man of woe.

Wherto I answered all with humble thanks :  
First, that I was the man he took me for  
Bred and brought vp on fayre *Elizas* bankes,  
Next, did I largely shew him furthermore  
How blessedly we liue, as hee had heard  
Vnder *Elizas* peacefull power and guard.

And as for my peculiar distresse,  
I tolde him so I seem'd, and so I was  
The Rag of Fortune. (E-E<sup>v</sup>.)

Catechrysius cuts short the Elizian's complaint, saying :

Come sit we downe, and I will shew thee how  
In this distresse, thou mayst nor breake, nor bow. (E 2.)

He then submits his neophyte to a course of religious instruction, as the Red Crosse Knight was instructed by Fidelia, teaching him in particular that suicide is treason to God, since our days are in His hands, that vengeance belongs to God and not to man, and that his suffering may have been in expiation for his own sins or those of his fathers, or may have been designed to test his patience and obedience. Moreover, the Christian should be indifferent to Fortune, either good or bad, for his concern is with things eternal; if God be for him, who can be against him !

If God thy Center be and thy defence  
Be Hell, be Deuil thy Circumference. (F 4<sup>v</sup>.)

Then follow stanzas that must have been more than mere rhetoric to an Elizabethan recusant, such as Copley, who had known imprisonment and perhaps torture, whose every act was watched with suspicion, and whose good name was constantly assailed:

The Tyrants steele, the Hang-mans Axeltree,  
His strangles, mangles, and his fierie doomes  
Cannot confound true magnanimitie  
Founded on Gods true loue & hollidoomes.

But thou wilt say it is Detraction,  
It is thy name defam'd among the just  
Thy life bely'd through misconstruction  
That more then all thy glorie in the dust  
Be-hels and tortureth thy manly mind,  
It being a mischiefe of a worser kind.

Bee't so (*Elizian-man*) I doe confesse  
Detraction is indeed a monstrous euell,  
Foule *Harpie* of honour, Night of righteousnesse  
And the vnciuill tongues most venym-driuell,  
Much more I doe confesse it is a spight  
To be of honest men a villaine hight. (F 4-G.)

Yet one should meet detraction with a bold countenance, assured that God knows the heart of man.

The instruction concluded, Catechrysius kneels before the crucifix and prays for the Elizian, that the terrors of his night may be dispersed and that he may see Jerusalem, abide in Zion's light, and believe that

*Happie they all that suffer for our Lord,  
For he to such his heauen will affoord.* (H 2.)

As the Elizian is experiencing the wonders of God's grace, an angel appears who presents him with a crucifix and then arms him from head to foot with the equipage of the Christian warrior, the counterpart of the armor of the Red Crosse Knight, finally placing in one hand a shield engraved with Christ's passion and in the other the cross to serve as spear. The angel then disappears and the Elizian prays that he may be admitted to the "shone *Hierusalem*":

I blesse the God and Spirit of thy bounds,  
I blesse thy Concord and thy Monarchie,  
I blesse the streams that tril from *Jesus* wounds  
Into thy seuen-fold Cesternes; and from thee  
Are vitally imparted vnto all  
That liue within thy Rampier and thy wall. (H 4<sup>v</sup>.)

The life-giving "seuen-fold Cesternes" contrast with Spenser's scandalous representation of the Church of Rome as the seven-headed beast of Revelation.

At the sound of the sacring bell, Catechrysius conducts the Elizian to the Temple, discoursing on the way as follows:

Not all the flush of thy fore-frolickie state,  
The worship of thy birth, thy rich reuene,  
Thy countries high applaud and estimate  
And all that faire *Elyzium* can yeeld youe,  
Is of the worth to countervayle thysh hap  
Fallen from faire Fortune into Graces lap.

Say that *Eliza* is the Lords deere daintie,  
The *Phœnix* of true *Principalitie*  
The feast of peace and sweet saturtie  
Vnto the people of her *Emperie*;  
Say that she is both Grace and Natures none-such  
I bend my knee ; and say and thinke as much.

For I haue heard the woonders of her name  
Our coasts is full of great *Elizabeth*,  
Yea, all the world is fertill of the same ;  
Sweet Name that all mens pennes and tongues inableth,  
Sweet Sound that all mens sences lullabieith,  
Sweet Marle that all the world imbatteneth.

But such her glories are but eare-delightes  
And lip-sweets only to our far awayes,  
For we are no *Elizium*-bred wightes  
Nor haue we any such like merrie dayes ;  
Wee haue our joyes in another kind  
Ghostly innated in our soule and mind. (I<sup>v</sup>-I 2.)

The beauty of the enjeweled Temple—reminiscent of Spenser's Hierusalem—surrounded by all kinds of flowers and trees—described in the Spenserian manner—through which wanders "a chrys-tall streame of heauenly Nectar . . . strong against prime guiltes enrage," its music attuned to the songs of the birds which fill the branches above, would require the "Muse of *Salomon*" to describe. Of the Temple itself :

The ground was Faith ; the meane worke Charitie  
The Top, a Hopefull apprehension  
Of heauens attaine : All was of Vnitie  
A sollid mettle heawn out of Christ his Passion. (I 3.)

The brightness of the Temple is "ynough t'illumine all the world, But for the mysts that false *Doblessa* hurld," she who rues the high achievements of Sion. It now begins to appear that

Doblessa — suggested of course by Spenser's Duessa — does not equate Fortune, as misleadingly stated in the Argument, but the Anglican Church or Protestantism.

Over the temple door is graven "Vna, Militans," for the Roman Catholic Church is itself the real Una. The porter was instructed to admit no Elizian, but Catechrysius assures him that the stranger is a catechumen. The Temple is lighted by the Holy Spirit, the brightness such that

Nor euer could Doblessas dreary mist  
Indarken, or resemble, or withdraw. (K.)

Here the novitiate beheld the laying on of hands, the anointing with oil, exorcism and raising of the dead, "yet nought could make Doblessa see her euill."

There was no scambling for the Ghospels bread  
But what a publike Vnitié diliured  
The same a prompt Credulitié receiued ;  
Their humblenesse was so beholie-ghosted  
As Pride had not the power to entice  
The wisest of them all to a new deuice. (K 2.)

And then with this thrust at Anglican new-fangledness, and with Spenser's Duessa constantly in mind, for ten caustic stanzas Copley exposes the sham of the English Church; Doblessa is "Errors dreary Queene," for many brave men have been sent in vain to teach her and for reward have lost their lives. She is the bloody and accursed sorceress who would fain reduce Zion to ruins. She is an evil hag whose law is liberty and whose lust is pride, who defies all awe and order, and who, until the Temple was established, "euer lay in deepest hell abyssed," and without whose opposition "The world had all ere this been Sioned."

For she could quaintly maske in Sions guize  
And sucke out venym from the Flower of life,  
And so retayle it with her subtleties  
For purest honey : Such was her deed of strife ;  
Her woluish nature in a lamblie hue  
Shee could disguize, and seeme of Sions crue.

Like Ensignes she oppos'd to Sions Ensignes,  
Like her pretence of grace, and Gods high honor,  
Like Grapes she did contend grew vp her Vines,  
And as good Gold as Sions seem'd her Copper ;  
It was but seeming so, not so indeed,  
Her seeming-flower was a very weed.

For why, the spirit which she did pretend  
 Was not autentique from the holy Ghost,  
 On no authority she did depend  
 Nor had she certaine being in any coast ;  
 Her owne behest she did Idolatrize,  
 And *Hydra*-like renu'd her Fallacies.

She had no Altar, nor no Sacrament  
 No Ceremonie, nor Oblation,  
 Her school was Caull, & truthlesse babblement  
 Riot her Raigne, her end damnation ;  
 This was the haggard whoore of *Babylon*  
 Whose cup inuenym'd all that drunke thereon.

(K 3-K 3<sup>v</sup>.)

It was the sham Protestant Church, not the Catholic, as Spenser so wrongly construed the prophecy, that was prefigured in the whore of Babylon, holding the golden cup of abominations in her hand.

This "haggard whoore" with her "barbarous Babellonians"—a pun, alluding to the Protestant confusion of doctrines—appears at the Temple just as the mass is being celebrated, olive branch in hand, but secretly bent upon assault, the counterpart of Duessa and her efforts to frustrate the marriage of the Red Crosse Knight and Una. The Sionites quickly arm, the Elizian being enrolled under the banner of Saint George, and men and angels join battle against the imposter. Meanwhile the "high Sacrificator"—the Pope—and the clergy carry on the services of the Temple, expose Doblessa's fraudulent interpretations of the Gospels, or adventure their lives to undeceive her subjects.

When Doblessa finds that she is destined to defeat, she, like Duessa before her, assumes, through sorcery, the form of a fair virgin, but when this deception proves of no avail, she reels back "to hell and Babylon," but even then she so bewitches her followers that they

crauin-cockadoodle it  
*As though they had run away victorie  
 And left faire Sion in her dying fit.* (L 3<sup>v</sup>.)

In the final episode the Virgin appears and strews the Temple with flowers in celebration of the victory. And now, with a duplicity nothing short of sublime in its daring, the poet pretends that he

mistook the Virgin for Elizabeth and the flowers for the roses of England:

And still I call'd vpon *Elizas* name  
 Thinking those Roses hers, that figure hers,  
 Vntill such time as *Catechrysius* came  
 And pointing me vnto his faithfull teares  
 (Teares of the zeale he bare t'*Elizas* name)  
 He told me No ; she was an Esterne Dame.

With that I cast mine eye into the East  
 Where yet I might discerne the region bright,  
 Much like as when the Sunne downe in the West  
 Newly discended, leaues vs of his light  
 Some Rubie-Rellickes after: Oh, deer God  
 Why made she not with vs more long abod.

Rapt with these woonders, wrapt in virgin-Roses  
 And faire be-Sioned against misfortune,  
 I suddainly was gone from these reposes  
 Sollicited with an especiall importune  
 Of home-ward zeale and of *Elizas* name,  
 Wherto I bend, and say; God blesse the same. (M 2<sup>v</sup>.)

*A Fig for Fortune* is certainly a most remarkable literary document, and yet it has not hitherto found its place in the stream of Spenser scholarship. To be sure it was reprinted by the Spenser Society in 1883, but its implications have not been appreciated. That it was prompted by the first book of the *Faerie Queene* there can of course be no question. The parallels are too obvious to be overlooked. Copley, as it were, rewrote the Legend of Holiness, enthroning the true Una, rescued from Spenser's obloquy, and stripping the false Una of her pretended sanctity, and exposing her naked vileness. At the same time he sought to make it clear that the good Catholic, though detesting the false religion, could still be a loyal Englishman and a worshipful subject of the Queen.

Copley was relatively uninfluenced by Spenser's vocabulary and stylistic qualities, and he had no ear for the music of language. Indeed, his highly condensed phrasing, his propensity to turn other parts of speech into verbs, his angularity, and his strange metaphors and similes, which do not chance to find illustration in the quotations above, seem to anticipate the Metaphysical School.



THE TRAVAYLED PYLGRIME BY STEPHEN BATMAN  
AND BOOK TWO OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

By KATHRINE KOLLER

Stephen Batman's reputation today depends upon his book entitled *Batman upon Bartholome, His Book De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1582), but he might well merit attention for other reasons. His books show him to have been a man of varied interests: a psychologist interested in witchcraft, a strong Protestant and a hater of heretics, a collector of tales about monstrous births and strange animals, and a seer of wonderful visions. Learning, piety, and credulity are exhibited in all his writings. His poem, *The travayled Pylgrime, bringing newes from all partes of the worlde*, is something more than the usual pilgrimage-of-life allegory which may have served as a source for Bunyan's story.<sup>1</sup> The ancient theme of man's pilgrimage toward death is combined with the general outlines of Elizabethan psychology in the story of the bitter conflicts which man "is dayly forced unto by meanes of this oure feeble nature."<sup>2</sup> This poem seems to present as early as 1569 an analogue for Book II of the *Faerie Queene*.

In *The travayled Pylgrime*, Stephen Batman has written an allegory of man's daily conflicts and his final defeat by Death. The poem, written in rough fourteeners and illustrated by eighteen very good woodcuts, is typical of the Renaissance with its mingling of religion and psychology. Briefly summarized, the allegory runs as follows:

The Author walking in a field called Time is met by a winged figure, Thought, who bids him consider the inevitability of death and the necessity for spending wisely the years which are given to man. He is warned that two powerful and cruel knights will attack him. They are Dolor and Debilitie whom none can escape, although Atropos may keep them in check for a time. Debilitie sends men to death through bodily feebleness, and Dolor destroys his victims by exercising his power over man's mind and filling it with grief.

<sup>1</sup> James B. Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegory* (Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 125-28.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Batman, *The travayled Pylgrime, bringing newes from all partes of the worlde, such like scarce harde of before* (1569). Dedicated to Sir William Damsell knight, receiver general of the court of Wards, and liveries. Printed by Henry Denham. Aii<sup>v</sup>.

Then Thought delivers to the Author the armor of Strength, the shield of Hope, the sword of Courage, the spear Adventure, and thus apparell'd and mounted on a steed called Will, he rides upon his way.

This leads him over mountains until he comes to a goodly green where he encounters a huge knight called Disagreement mounted on a horse named Ire. The knight attacks the Author with a spear called Little Wit, and they battle furiously until Lady Youth<sup>3</sup> begs Disagreement to stop. Before the Author is permitted to ride away, the Lady gives him a famous cap which signifies the crafty illusions of Satan who seeks by all possible means to destroy men, even the very elect.

The Author, wearied by this battle, travels on until he meets Understanding from whom he begs lodging. His new acquaintance, whose identity is as yet unknown to him, gives the Author a banquet of the bread of life and the cup of health, and comforts him. True Diligence furnishes the table in the place of Reason. Understanding advises the Author at length and concludes with these lines,

And sith thou art but yong in yeares, not yet come to  
full strength,  
Let Reason therfore be thy guide, he will thee ease at  
length.<sup>4</sup>

Then Reason brings him to a bed called Rest. After a refreshing sleep, he is taken through the house by Obedience. Here dwell all the virtues—Justice, Fortitude, Strength, Love, who sings her song in praise of God, Temperance, Faith, Hope, and Charity. "Ech one with other there did sit and Concorde sets the note" (*ibid.*, Dij.). The Author who bemoans the absence of these virtues in the world sadly prepares to leave, but Understanding will not let him depart until he has seen the treasures of the house. He, therefore, takes the Author to a dark door with a lock of glass and opens it with a key called Knowledge.

The roume was large and verie fine, replete with colour  
faire,  
With characts straunge and pictures wrought, that shineth  
like the aire, . . . (*Ibid.*, Dij<sup>v</sup>.)

In this room Understanding shows the Author many things:

Examples, therfore will I show to ech state and degree  
Of straunge things past, which earst hath bene to all that  
will you see

And how the state of things has bene among the wilful sort,  
And pleasures eke of virtuous'men, I also will report. (*Ibid.*,  
Diiiv.)

<sup>3</sup> This Lady is called Memory in the woodcut which illustrates this section of the poem. I am inclined to believe that the artist made a mistake. Memory enters the poem some pages later at a truly significant point.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Batman, *The travayled Pylgrime*, Dj.

Thus from the stories of Cain, Mysandros, Sampson, Dianira, Nessus, Caesar, Alexander, Cassandrus, Hector, Achilles, Pompey, Ptolomeus, Hanniball, Holofernes, Cicera, Hammon and others, Understanding shows that all men, good and evil, have been overcome by Dolor and Debilitie. The Author closes this passage with advice to the reader:

Beare well in minde all that is past, the better shalt thou knoe.  
In that which rests for to be read, to rid thee from thy foe.  
(*Ibid.*, Eii.)

Then the Author, armed with the spear Regiment, renews his journey guided by Reason. His restless horse Will can scarcely be restrained, and as they ride into a narrow strait called Present Time, they meet an adversary, Age, mounted on a horse, Pain. After a fierce struggle, Age is victorious. He permits the Author to continue his journey, but not before he has given him good counsel. He warns him to keep his body chaste and unspotted by sin, to beware of the courts which are often disappointing, and, if he would win renown, to keep from crime and to advance by virtue and reason. "He that wades for dead men's shoes, may chance at length go bare" (*ibid.*, Fij).

After listening to this advice, the Author continues on his way in the great field of Worldly Pleasure. He comes upon a little, obscure path called Deceit or Guile, but he is not trapped because he remembers his promise to Age. He next comes to a beautiful palace, "faire, yet variable."

The sight thereof so did me move, and eke the outward shewe,  
That I thought sure no death at all, at no time would me knowe:  
The walls therof were fabricate, and wroutht with silver pure,  
The windows were of chrystall cleare, such was the furniture,  
Within with gold bedect about like Titans gliding beames,  
Most like to heaven Imperiall, environed with streames.  
The tiles were Aagate pure and good, the pinnes of corall red,  
No metal base did there appeare, as Iron, Brasse or Lead:  
The gloming shewe and pulchritude did cause me much to muse,  
Mine eyes were dim with looking on, myself did so abuse.  
A thousand counterfeited shewe, fresh Ladies fit for Pan.  
In inward shapes to Demon like, aloft sang now and than.  
Thereby they drue a number sure, into most filthy life,  
Bereft at length from joyfull state, unto all wo and strife.  
(*Ibid.*, Fiiij.)

Entranced by the harmony of the music, the beauty of the women and the gentle perfumed winds, the Author almost succumbs to the temptation of desire, but when he remembers his promise to Age, and, looking in the glass, sees his gray hair, he forsakes this house of "disordered livers." Dame Memory and Reason come to his rescue and strengthen him against lust and concupiscence.

As the Author travels through the woods he comes to a barren land known as the Desert of Age. Here he sees foolish women such as Dame Daintie, Maistresse Nice, Dame Flatterie and Bel-dame Coy trying to escape old age by paint and gay attire. All the miseries of age which are made apparent to the Author fill him with despair. He is about to return to the field of Worldly Pleasure when Dame Memory restrains him and encourages him by telling him that no man can escape the ravages of age or the final conflict with death. She recounts the history of heroic ancients, and then she shows in a pageant the struggles of the English rulers against Debilitie and Death. She begins by showing a king in armor prepared to fight the champion Debilitie. The king is Henry VIII, a worthy and valorous ruler, who "puld the Abbeys downe and spoylde the Romish lubber all" (*ibid.*, Ji). Although he fights valiantly, he finally yields to Debilitie. He is followed by Edward VI who struggled bravely to continue what his father had begun, but he is the victim of cruel Fortune who leads him to think that he is too young to be destroyed by Debilitie. However, this stout champion of pale Death conquers the prince.

These scenes are interrupted by a quarrel between Dolor and Debilitie, each claiming to be the greater. Dolor says that he rules mankind because he makes his entrance into the mind by filling it with grief through the loss of goods, friends, and fortune, and by hatred, slander, and thralldom, and by fire and sword. Debilitie calls upon the planets to prove his right to supremacy; disease brings Debilitie, and the planets bring diseases to man. The hot planets bring fevers, and the cold planets cause man to suffer from gout, pestilence, dropsies, rheums, and continual torments of the flesh. Sweet instruments can drive away Dolor, but God alone can restore a body destroyed by Debilitie. The quarrel is stopped by Atropos who declares

Her judgment was that Griefe, or Paine, or Weaknesse were  
but sent

As Messengers of Atropos, and for hir high entent.  
Not for your selves, quoth she, that you to raging bee,  
But that when eyther of you strike, man may prepare for mee:  
Your powre and strength is little worth except I be your guide,  
The honor therfore sure is mine, I fully have it tride.

(*Ibid.*, Li<sup>r</sup>.)

After this interlude Dame Memory returns to the history of the Tudors. Mary is described as a noble prince with a just religious mind, "but wanting skill of truth" (*ibid.*, Lii). Her reign is best reported in the *Acts and Monuments*. The Author and Memory continue on foot, while Memory shows him beautiful gardens and stately tombs, the memorials to famous princes who have bowed before death. While they are talking, they see a chariot drive by, and in it is Queen Elizabeth, "that splendent Rose so cleere" (*ibid.*,

Mir'), whose lovely body is as yet untouched by Debilitie. The Author takes this occasion to extol the Queen and describe the blessings of her reign. The woodcut which illustrates this passage is a very good one with a fine likeness of Elizabeth seated in a triumphal chariot on which is mounted a figure of Triumph, and surrounded by the gentlemen of the court. The two then ride on to the house of Rest, where the Author awaits the Hoped Time in the Chamber of Paine. Here again Reason's sage advice and the aid of Diligence, Patience, and Constant Hope protect him from Dispaire, Disdaine, and Ire. Although Reason stays with the Author until the last, he is not able to prevent the final victory of Death.

A brief analysis of this allegory will show how closely it follows the popular generalities of Elizabethan psychology, which dealt with the old struggle between reason and sensuality and which was a curious compound of the teachings of the great pagan philosophers and the doctrines of patristic philosophy. (1) The attacks of the two champions of Death, Dolor and Debilitie, are directed against the tripartite soul of man. Dolor, i.e., inward grief and mental suffering, attacks the reasonable or rational soul; while Debilitie, i.e., bodily decay, disease, and suffering tries to destroy the vegetative and sensible souls. (2) In *The travayled Pylgrime* the first attack is against the rational soul by the passions, Disagreement mounted on Ire. When Youth saves man for the time being, we see how closely the psychological and the physiological are united. In the House of Reason, man's rational soul is fortified by Understanding, the virtue which reveals to him the value of knowledge. Here, too, the vegetative and sensible souls are fed the bread of life and the cup of health. (3) The next attack is against the vegetative and sensible souls by Age mounted on Pain, although the counsel of Age is directed towards the rational soul. (4) The attacks are continued against the sensible soul by such appeals to the senses and desires as beautiful sights, gentle music, perfumed winds, counterfeited shows and "ladies fit for Pan." Once more Reason and Memory save man from lust and concupiscence. (5) Memory, one of the virtues of the rational soul, is needed to prepare man for his final conflict with Death, and she does so by revealing to him the history of the pagan heroes and of the Tudor rulers who are now dead. Thus fortified by Memory and encouraged by Reason, man's tripartite soul is ready to accept Death whose messengers have attacked his body and his mind.

Spenser's use of Elizabethan psychology in Book II of the *Faerie Queene* has been pointed out by Professors Edward Dowden, Merritt Hughes, Ernest Strathmann and others.<sup>5</sup> Guyon, the

<sup>5</sup> *The Works of Edmund Spenser*. Variorum edition, The Johns Hopkins Press, vol. II (1933), appendices IX and X, pp. 458-71.

champion of the virtue of Temperance, is tried by the passions. Inordinate rage, grief and self-indulgence, unbridled anger and revenge attack the knight; then follow the temptations of idleness, wantonness, the desire for worldly power and wealth, and lastly the great temptation of the flesh in Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. These assaults are directed against the rational and vegetative and sensible souls of the knight. He is guided by Reason in his fight against the passions; his experience in the House of Medina teaches him the doctrine of the golden mean, and in the House of Alma Guyon learns about the tripartite soul and discovers that it requires the sum of all the virtues to combat the temptations of the flesh and the spirit. Here, too, he realizes the part that Memory plays in preparing man to endure his greatest conflict.

In terms of Elizabethan psychology a certain analogy exists between *The travayled Pylgrime* and Book II of the *Faerie Queene*. We find in both poems the ancient conflict between reason and passion described in an allegory which shows the tripartite soul of man attacked by the temptations of the passions of the mind and the desires of the flesh. In each case the poet tells how these struggles are to be met. It is true that *The travayled Pylgrime* is telling the old theme of man's inevitable surrender to death; Guyon, however, is not only a medieval knight, but he is also a Renaissance hero, and he is the triumphant victor with his task accomplished. The main problem in both poems is the same—the poet's concern with the trials which confront "this oure feeble nature."

Certain details of the poems reveal additional points of similarity. Guyon as well as the Pilgrim-Author has Reason for his guide. Phaedria and Acrasia and the Bower of Bliss present the same temptations to Guyon as do the House of Luxuria and the "fresh ladies fit for Pan." Both heroes are armed knights,<sup>6</sup> and when exhausted from their conflicts with the passions of the mind, they find sustenance, protection and instruction in the House of Reason. In the *Faerie Queene*, this is the House of Alma, the Rational Soul. In both poems the heroes meet the inhabitants of the house and are taken into chambers on whose pictured walls they are shown the different forms of knowledge and experience.<sup>7</sup> Alma, the rational soul, and Understanding (which represents the highest form of apprehension) guide the knights through the chambers of each house. A champion who would destroy the body attacks both Guyon and the Author. Maleger, wearing a skull on his

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *The travayled Pylgrime* and "the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul, v. Ephes," as mentioned in the *Letter to Ralegh*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the wall paintings and tapestries of *F. Q.*, II.9.53. and III.2.28 ft.

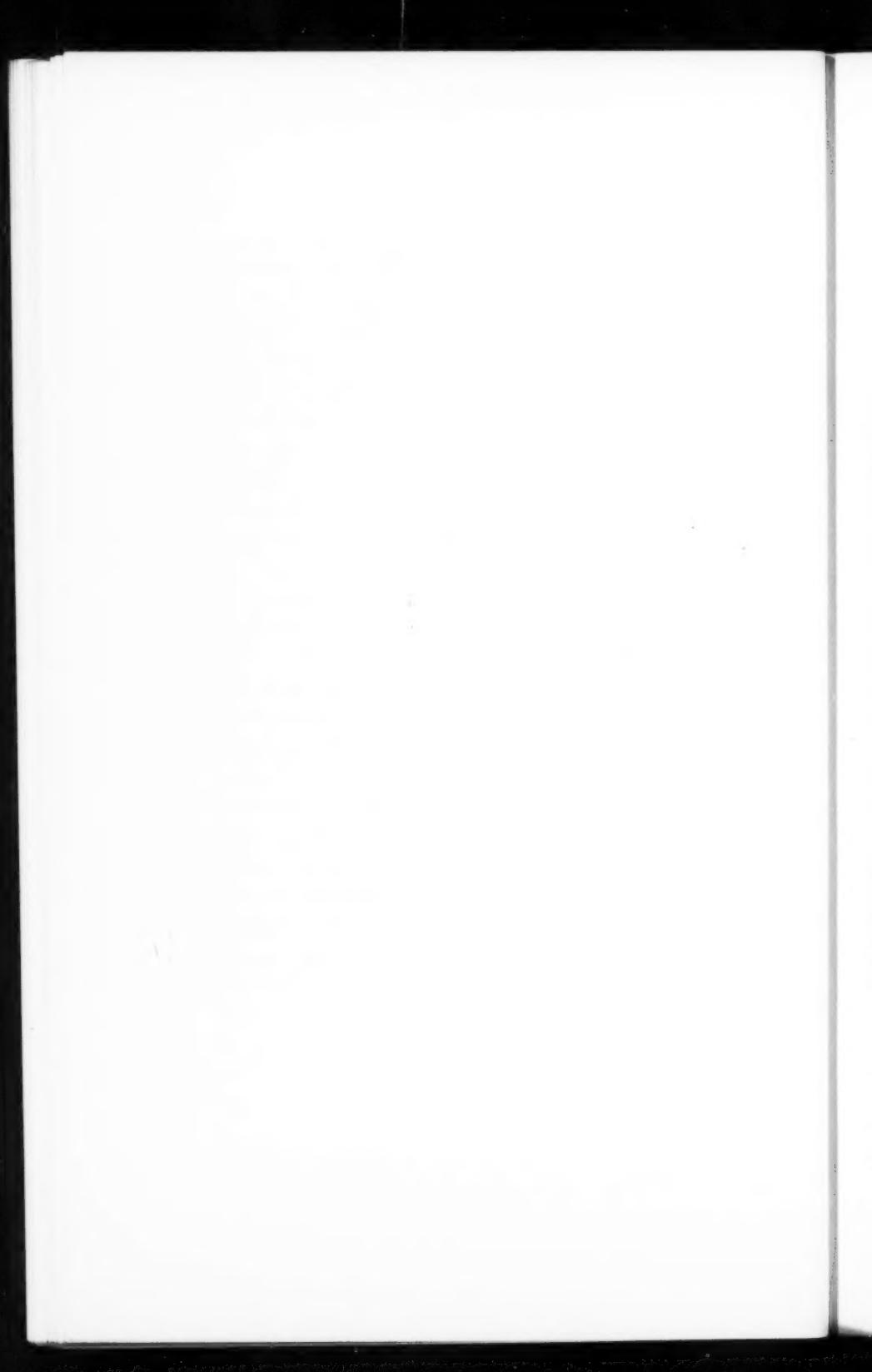
helmet, reminds one of Debilitie who is pictured with a skull and crossbones on his coat. Like Age and Debilitie, Maleger can be only temporarily subdued. The important point is the fact that in both allegories the attack is made against the vegetative soul of the hero. And each knight is prepared for his final conflict by Memory.

It is at this point that the analogy seems most interesting. In order to prepare him to meet Death, Lady Memory shows the Author the history of the Tudor rulers, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, who have been overcome by Dolor and Debilitie, the champions of Death. This cannot fail to remind one of Guyon's experience in the House of Alma where Memory permits him to read in the *Antiquities of Faerie land*, the history of England up to the days of Gloriana, or Elizabeth. Batman concludes his survey of the Tudors with a eulogy of Elizabeth untouched by Dolor or Debilitie, and Spenser completes the history of Faerie land with praise of "that glorious flower," Gloriana. Thus both heroes are made ready for their final struggle—one with death and one with lust—by studying the history of the English rulers. Guyon goes on to victory; the Pilgrim to his inevitable defeat by Death; but to the end Reason remains the guide and comforter of the two knights.

To claim *The travayled Pylgrime* as a source for Book II of the *Faerie Queene* seems a dangerous and unprofitable business. Spenser may have known Batman's work. Dr. Boughner has suggested as much in his article on "The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*,"<sup>8</sup> but many of these ideas of Elizabethan psychology could have been found in other writers. The significance of this analogy lies in the fact that as early as 1569, a writer was presenting in an allegorical poem the same aspects of Elizabethan psychology which appear in the *Faerie Queene*, Book II, and was using allegorical devices which bear close resemblance to those which Spenser used far more beautifully about nineteen years later. As a moralist and a psychologist, Spenser followed the pattern of his time; he rarely advanced into new fields of thought; but as a poet he taught by such rare delights as the Elizabethan world had never known before.

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<sup>8</sup> Daniel Boughner, "The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 89-96. Although Memory appears as a lady in Batman's poem and as an old man in the *Faerie Queene*, Memory in both cases is distinctly an ethical virtue and serves as a guide to right conduct.



## THE "G. W. SENIOR" AND "G. W. I." OF SPENSER'S *AMORETTI*

By RUDOLF GOTTFRIED

The late Frederic L. Carpenter has published some speculations on the authorship of the two complementary sonnets, signed "G. W. Senior" and "G. W. I.," which precede Spenser's *Amoretti*.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that "G. W. I." stands for "G. W. Junior"; that the two authors are therefore a father and son bearing the same first name; and that they may be either the two Geoffrey Whitneys or, more probably, the two George Wilkinses. But if Carpenter is right in suggesting that "G. W. Senior" and "G. W. I." are father and son, the available evidence, I think, favors the Whitney rather than the Wilkins identification.

George Wilkins, the dramatist, is a well-known Elizabethan figure; but of his father we are told only that he *may have been* "George Wilkins, the Poet."<sup>2</sup> It is certain, on the other hand, that Geoffrey Whitney, the emblem-writer, was the son of another Geoffrey Whitney: he dedicates one of his poems to "*my Father M. Geoffrey Whitney*," and in the catalogue of students at the University of Leyden (under 1 March, 1586) he was listed as "*Godfridus Whitneyus, Junior*."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, although there is no real proof that the elder Whitney wrote poetry, his daughter Isabella was the author of *A Sweet Nosegay, or Pleasant Posye* (1573);<sup>4</sup> clearly the Whitneys were a family given to poetizing.

When we turn to the younger Geoffrey Whitney's most important work, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leyden, 1586), we meet various possible lines of connection with the poet to whom the "G. W." sonnets are addressed. Henry Green, the editor of the *Emblemes*, has pointed out several unconvincing parallels between that work and Spenser's poetry;<sup>5</sup> and the picture of Occasion in the *Faerie Queene* has been referred to Whitney among other emblem-writers.<sup>6</sup> To these parallels two more may be added: Under a woodcut of Tan-

<sup>1</sup> "G. W. Senior and G. W. I.," *MP*, XXII (1924), 67-8.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Lee, article on George Wilkins in *DNB*.

<sup>3</sup> *A Choice of Emblemes*, ed. Henry Green (London, 1866), pp. 164, vii-viii.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. F. Sanders, article on Geoffrey Whitney in *DNB*.

<sup>5</sup> *Emblemes*, ed. Green, pp. ix-x, xvi-xvii, xxiv-xxv, lxxv-lxvi, 253-65, 298, 323-5, 379.

<sup>6</sup> James G. McManaway, "'Occasion,' *Faerie Queene* II.iv.4-5," *MLN*, XLIX (1934), 392.

talus immersed in water to the shoulders and vainly reaching for the fruit of an over-arching tree, Whitney places lines which interpret the legend as an allegory of avarice; both poem and picture have a striking resemblance to the stanzas on Tantalus in the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>7</sup> Again, Whitney's picture of Envy shows her with vipers in her mouth, and his poem interprets them as her poisoned thoughts; Spenser's Envy likewise gnaws a snake.<sup>8</sup> But the existence of classical sources for these passages and the dependence of Whitney upon earlier emblem-books for both text and illustration make it impossible to say that Spenser must have known the *Choice of Emblemes*.

Better evidence of a connection between Whitney and Spenser is supplied by the names of those contemporaries to whom the *Emblemes* refer. The whole work is headed by an "Epistle Dedicatore" to Leicester. Two poems are dedicated to Sidney and two to Dyer, the last of them, as Whitney explains, at the instigation of Sidney.<sup>9</sup> Another poem is dedicated to Alexander Nowell, a "visitor" of the Merchant Taylors' School in 1562, 1564, and 1565; probably the disburser of certain small gifts of money which Spenser, while at Cambridge, received from the estate of Nowell's brother Robert; and an associate of Bishop John Young, by whom Spenser was employed as a secretary in 1578.<sup>10</sup> Whitney dedicates an emblem to Sir John Norris, Lord President of Munster, to whom one of the dedicatory sonnets of the *Faerie Queene* is addressed.<sup>11</sup> Another poem is dedicated to Sir William Russell, the friend to whom Sidney bequeathed his best gilt armor, a soldier who was probably serving in the Netherlands at the time when Whitney was publishing his *Emblemes* at Leyden; Russell was later to be Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1594 to 1597 and to be mentioned favorably in Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*.<sup>12</sup> It is clear, in other words, that the circles of Whitney and of Spenser overlapped at many points. Furthermore, to go beyond the evidence of the *Emblemes*, Whitney entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, about 1567 and may thus have been a student at the University during some of Spenser's Cambridge years.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Emblemes*, p. 74; *FQ* 2.7.57-60.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94; *FQ* 5.12.30.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 109-10, 132-3, 196-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7; Alexander C. Judson, *A Biographical Sketch of John Young* (Bloomington, 1934), pp. 16-7, and Thomas Watts, *Archdeacon of Middlesex (and Edmund Spenser)* (Bloomington, 1939), pp. 17-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Emblemes*, pp. 194-5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193; Robert Dunlop, article on Sir William Russell in *DNB*; Spenser's *View*, ed. W. L. Renwick (London, 1934), pp. 152-3.

<sup>13</sup> *Emblemes*, ed. Green, p. xlvi.

There remains one more piece of evidence which connects Geoffrey Whitney with the "G. W." of the *Amoretti* volume. In his will, dated 11 September, 1600, and probated on 28 May, 1601, Whitney bequeaths his best ring to "Ladie Nedeham"; Green identifies this lady as a member of the Needham family which held estates at Shavington in Shropshire, a few miles from Whitney's home at Coole Pilate, and he adds, "A correspondent [T. W. Jones, Nantwich, 2 March, 1866] informs me 'my Ladie Nedeham was only Lady by courtesy, and that her husband was Robert Nedeham esq.; she was the youngest daughter of Sir Edward Aston of Staffordshire.'"<sup>14</sup> But Green's correspondent is undoubtedly wrong in calling her a lady merely by courtesy: the son of Robert Needham, Esq., who was also named Robert, had been knighted in Ireland, significantly by Lord Deputy Russell, on 1 September, 1594; had returned to England on 25 September, 1594; and on 14 October of the same year had married his second wife, Anne, daughter of one Doyley, who must have been the "Ladie Nedeham" of 1600.<sup>15</sup> Sir Robert Needham's wife, not his mother, was the recipient of Whitney's best ring.

But Sir Robert Needham of Shavington is also the man to whom Spenser's *Amoretti* volume of 1595 is dedicated by the publisher, William Ponsonby. The volume was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on 19 November, 1594, and the dedication congratulates Needham on his safe return from Ireland (in September, 1594) aboard the same boat which carried the manuscript of the *Amoretti* to England.<sup>16</sup> Ponsonby does not imply that between Needham and Spenser there was any personal link in addition to this accidental one, although it has recently been discovered that Needham's maternal grandfather had been married, without issue, to Mary Spencer of Althorpe.<sup>17</sup> In any case, however, we can be sure that the younger Geoffrey Whitney was a personal friend of the

<sup>14</sup> *Emblemes*, ed. Green, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

<sup>15</sup> *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1589-1600*, ed. J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (London, 1869), pp. 222, 223—references for which I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Alexander C. Judson. See also George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, rev. Hon. Vicary Gibbs (London, 1910-1940), VII, 260.

<sup>16</sup> Edmund Spenser, *Daphnaida and Other Poems*, ed. W. L. Renwick (London, 1929), pp. 60, 196, 237.

<sup>17</sup> W. H. Welsly, *N&Q*, CLXII (1932), 184. Welsly apparently confuses Sir Robert Needham with his father, Robert Needham, Esq.; it is the latter who was Vice-President of the Council in the Marches of Wales and who married the daughter of Sir Edward Aston (John Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*, rev. Mervyn Archdall [Dublin, 1789], IV, 221; Sir John Bernhard Burke, *The Peerage and Baronetage* [London, 1921], under "Earl of Kilmorey"). The mistake in regard to the Vice-Presidency is also made by Renwick (Spenser's *Daphnaida and Other Poems*, p. 196).

wife of the man to whom Spenser's *Amoretti* volume is dedicated; and therefore it does not seem to be altogether accidental that the same dedication is followed by two sonnets which are signed "G. W. Senior" and "G. W. I."

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## SPENSER'S TALE OF THE TWO SONS OF MILESIUS

By ROLAND M. SMITH

In his study "Amidas v. Bracidas" in this journal<sup>1</sup> Herbert B. Nelson traces the background of Spenser's episode (*Faerie Queene*, Book V, iv. 4-20) in English and Roman law. He argues cogently against connecting the episode with the Earl of Northumberland's claim to treasure in 1566, as proposed by Greenlaw.<sup>2</sup> To Spenser at Kilcolman in southern Ireland during the last decade of the century, an occurrence on the east coast of England north of the Trent some twenty-five years earlier would seem much too remote in both time and space for his purpose.<sup>3</sup> Greenlaw himself in discussing the surrounding passages in Book V (Irena and Grantorto, p. 140, and the episode of Radigund, p. 142) rightly insisted upon the application of the narratives to Ireland. The fact that Amidas and Bracidas are called by Spenser the sons of the Irish legendary hero Mil or Milesius (Spenser's Milesio) would suggest an Irish source for this episode as well.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Nelson's statement that the episode may be "based on an Irish folk tale, now lost" is not inconsistent with his own findings. But it seems reasonable to believe that Spenser's source may not have been the usual kind of Irish folk tale; it may well have been rather "a hypothetical law case retold by Spenser" (Nelson, p. 394) of the sort which abounds in the native or Breton laws of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *MLO*, I (1940), 393-99.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 141-2: "The incident of the two brothers who quarrel over the treasure chest cast on the shore by the waves is somewhat obscure."

Mrs. Bennett believes Spenser had no "topical interpretation" in mind when he wrote this and the other episodes of Cantos 1-4. See Josephine W. Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago, 1942), p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> More recent studies show that in Book V Spenser is chiefly concerned with contemporary events. "Although Book V relates the deeds of Leicester and Grey, it has a more significant and timely purpose: it is a support of Essex. . . . Spenser is again using old material for a new and pointed purpose" (Heffner, *ELH*, III, 82). "But Spenser in Book V . . . makes his story bear on conditions immediately contemporary" (*ELH*, I, 28). Even in the trial of Duessa, Spenser is more interested in justifying the ways of Elizabeth to Mary Stuart than in recalling the Darnley period in Mary's life. (See Neill, *ELH*, II, 192-214.)

<sup>4</sup> The attribution of classical names to sons of an Irish father should not prove disconcerting to a reader who has reached Book V. On Spenser's fondness for interweaving classical elements with Irish, see my comments in *PMLA*, L (1935), 1050 ff.

Such a tale from the published law texts is that of the two sons of Partholon, who, according to tradition, landed in Ireland 750 years before the sons of Milesius, under somewhat similar circumstances:

And it was the two sons of Partholon that fought the battle, Fer and Fergnia, and the reason for which they fought was this: the one brother, Fergnia, married his sister Iain, and the other brother, Fer, married the other sister, Ain. And the dowry (*coibche*)<sup>5</sup> Ain received was her first dowry, and according to law half the dowry belonged to him, because her father was not alive; for it is said in the *Racholl Bretha*: "Half the first dowry of every woman belongs to the head of her tribe, if she receives it after the death of her father." And Fergnia was seeking his share of the dowry, but he was a disqualified person and was entitled to nothing. Or it was the dowry of the other sister that was brought face to face with this dowry, as the poet has said:

"The two sons of Partholon, without doubt,  
Were they who fought the battle;  
Fer and Fergnia, of great valor,  
Were the names of the two brothers."

And this is a citation to the same effect:

"Fer and Fergnia were the men,  
As the ancients do relate;  
Ain and Iain, who caused the hosts to be destroyed,  
Were the two chief daughters of Partholon."

It was over them that the first battle [in Ireland] was ever fought; but it is stated elsewhere that Aine and Aife were the names of the two daughters.<sup>6</sup>

In this tale, as in Spenser's episode, two sons of the same father quarrel over two damsels and their dowry. Both tales are used to explain legal customs; neither is found in the usual repositories for folklore such as the *Leabhar Gabhála*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See note 30 below.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient Laws of Ireland (Senchus Mór)*, I (Dublin, 1865), 154-5. Aine and Aife appear in the *Leabhar Gabhála* as the names of two (of the ten) daughters of Partholon. Fer and Fergnia are not listed there as Partholon's sons; see note 24 below.

<sup>7</sup> The *Leabhar Gabhála*, as van Hamel has shown (*Revue Celtique*, L, 217-37), is composed of six *Gabhála*, or "Invasions," of Ireland which often show confusion in repeating the same motifs. "The invasion of Partholon is built on exactly the same scheme as the other invasions" (p. 221). That the tale of Partholon's sons appears in the Laws and not in *Leabhar Gabhála* offers no reason for thinking that Spenser would not have known it, for knowledge of the Breton law was, as we know, part of the Irish bard's stock in trade, and Spenser was, as we also know, intensely interested in the native laws.

The Irish provenience of the story of the sons of Milesius was put forward by Gough:

This name was probably suggested by an Irish legend concerning the Milesians (sons of Milesius or Milidh), a Scythian race, who were said to have invaded Ireland several centuries before the Christian era. Heber and Heremon, the sons of Milesius, divided the island between them, but the wife of Heber envied the wife of Heremon the possession of a certain valley, and instigated her husband to make war on his brother. A great battle was fought in the plains of Geisol in Leinster, in which Heber was slain, and Heremon became sole monarch. That Spenser knew the legend may be inferred from the fact that in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 627, he discusses and discredits the story of the Milesian invasion and refers to Herebus, after whom the Chroniclers affirm that the land was called Hibernia.<sup>8</sup>

But Gough's note, and more recently Miss Henley's, fail to bring out the marked similarities between the Irish source and Spenser's tale.<sup>9</sup>

The legend of the coming of the sons of Mil to Ireland, like most Irish legends, has come down to us in a number of versions. The account in the *Leabhar Gabhála*<sup>10</sup> is followed in the main by Geoffrey Keating in his *History of Ireland* (about 1634);<sup>11</sup> a text from MS H.4.22 (Trinity College, Dublin) has been edited by Margaret Dobbs under the title "Tochomlad Mac Miledh a hEspan i nEirind";<sup>12</sup> other versions appear in the place-name poems on Mag Dumach and Druim Fingin I.<sup>13</sup> The story of Amairgen ("who passed the first sentence in Ireland") and Scota, daughter of Pharao, and the sons of Mil is also told in the Laws, in the introduction to the *Senchus Mór*.<sup>14</sup> The following summary is based upon the *Leabhar Gabhála*.

<sup>8</sup> Cited in *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Edmund Spenser*, V, p. 194. That Spenser knew the legend may also be inferred from the *View*, p. 632: "that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharao." See below.

<sup>9</sup> On Spenser's familiarity with the tradition of the sons of Mil, Miss Henley (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 112) is quite specific: "many of the old fanciful legends connected with the colonization of Ireland were widely known, . . . and these Spenser would have known." For Miss Henley's statement on "Milidh [recte Mil] or Milesius," see p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> R. A. S. Macalister and J. MacNeill, *Leabhar Gabhála* (Dublin, 1916); Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Erenn*, Irish Texts Soc. ed. (London 1938—).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. P. S. Dinneen, Irish Texts Society, 4 vols. See II, 78-107.

<sup>12</sup> *Études Celtiques*, II (1937), 50-91. As Miss Dobbs suggests, this is probably not to be connected with the lost *Cath Taillten*.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, IV (1924), 260-63 and 316-17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ancient Laws*, I, 18-21.

After the death of Mil, two of his sons, Donn and Eremon, ruled Spain between them. An uncle of Mil, Ith the son of Bregan, seeing from Bregan's Tower (near Corunna) a lofty island far away, set sail for the island and landed in Ireland. After he had been there for some time, the chieftains of the Tuatha Dé Danann plotted his death. The sons of Mil, learning of Ith's death, decided to avenge it and set sail for Ireland in sixty-five ships.

As they approached Inber Slainge (Wexford Harbor), the Tuatha Dé Danann spread a magic mist<sup>15</sup> before them so that they could not land, whereupon they sailed three times around Ireland and landed at Inber Scéne.<sup>16</sup> From there they went to Tara, where they demanded "battle or kingship or judgment" from the three kings of the Tuatha Dé. "We shall accept the judgment of your own poet," said the kings, "but if he give a false judgment against us he shall die." The sons of Mil asked their brother Amairgen to give the judgment. "Abandon Ireland to them now," said Amairgen, "till we come again by force." "Whither shall we go?" asked Donn. "Over nine waves (*tar naib tonnaib*),"<sup>17</sup> said Amairgen. This was the first judgment given in Ireland.<sup>18</sup> Following this advice, the sons of Mil returned "over nine waves" to Inber Scéne, where they had left their fleet. The Tuatha Dé Danann raised a great storm by sending druidic winds after them and, after scattering the Milesian fleet, succeeded in drowning five of the sons of Mil, including the eldest, Donn.<sup>19</sup> Those who survived landed at the mouth of the Boyne.

After burying their dead, Eremon and Eber divided the fleet; Eremon and Amairgen landed in the north of Ireland, and Eber in the south. The first battle between the sons of Mil and the Tuatha Dé was fought at Sliab Mis (in Kerry); here fell Scota, Mil's wife. Later in the battle of Taltiu<sup>20</sup> the three kings and three queens of the Tuatha Dé were slain by the Milesians. Upon the flight of the Tuatha Dé, the sons of Mil took over the rule of Ireland.

<sup>15</sup> See note 28 below.

<sup>16</sup> Inber Scéne is the old name for the river Kenmare, Spenser's "wide embayèd Mayre" (*Faerie Queene*, IV, xi.44.1).

<sup>17</sup> In the seventh century Irish Christians attributed a magic power to the distance of nine waves. See the legal text cited below.

<sup>18</sup> For a conflicting version, see my transcript "The First Judgment of Amairgen" from MS H.3.17 (Trinity College, Dublin) in *Irish Texts*, I (London, 1931), 63. From Amairgen's judgment there was no appeal: "They left the decision in the power of Amairgen and he gave them a legal decision" (*Etudes Celtiques*, II, 77). Compare Spenser's lines (V, iv.16):

Vnto your selfe, said they, we giue our word,  
To bide what iudgement ye shall vs afford.

<sup>19</sup> For the story of Donn's death, see Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, IV, 310-11. Here the *Leabhar Gabhála* tells the story of Dil; see note 26 below.

<sup>20</sup> The story of the battle of Taltiu is the *Cath Taillten*; see below.

Almost immediately Eremon and Eben quarreled over the kingship, whereupon Amairgen was asked to pass judgment on their claims. Amairgen said that the inheritance of Donn, who had been drowned, should go to Eremon, and Eremon's inheritance should go to Eber. This was Amairgen's second judgment. Eber rejected it, however, and insisted on dividing Ireland; to this proposal Eremon agreed. Eremon took the northern half of Ireland, Eber the southern half.

Thus they ruled Ireland for a year "till pride seized their wives."<sup>21</sup> Eber's wife, not content with Amairgen's division, refused to remain in Ireland unless she was given the "three fairest hills" in Ireland. But Eremon stood on his rights against Eber, and the dispute resulted in a battle<sup>22</sup> in which Eber was slain. After that Eremon held sovereignty for fourteen years.

The large number of forms in which this tale exists suggests that Spenser may have known a variant closer to his tale of Amidas and Bracidas than any of the extant versions. Or he may have elaborated, with his usual invention, upon an existing version. Or he may have learned from his tutor the lost *Cath Taillten*,<sup>23</sup> or a garbled narrative which confused the story of Partholon's sons with that of Mil's sons.<sup>24</sup> There is a fifth possibility: it would not be out of keeping with Spenser's methods of composition to combine for himself the Milesian story with the Partholon story, in which event it would not be necessary to suppose that he drew upon a lost tale.

Thus Artegall, in pronouncing equitable sentence, corresponds with the Irish Amairgen, who passed the first judgment in Ireland, and for whose judgments the Irish poets found only praise;<sup>25</sup> Amidas and Bracidas are renamed from Eremon and Eber; and

<sup>21</sup> With Eber's wife compare Spenser's Philtra, also a "lover of land." Cf. Osgood's etymology *Phil* + *terra* (*Variorum Edition*, V, 195).

<sup>22</sup> According to one tradition, the battle of Argatros; Keating (II, 107) says: "However, the common opinion . . . is, that it was not in the battle of Argatros that Eber was slain, but in the battle of Geisille, as we have stated above."

<sup>23</sup> Listed as one of the chief battle-stories of Ireland in the Book of Leinster and in the *Senchus Mór* as "Cath Taillten re Clandaib Miledh" (*Ancient Laws*, I, 46.14).

<sup>24</sup> That such a confusion between the Partholon and Mil stories existed is seen in such passages from the *Leabhar Gabhála* as the following (Macalister, Irish Texts Soc. ed., II, 272-3): "It was the four sons of Partholon who made the first division of Ireland in the beginning: Er, Orba, Fergna, Feron. There were four men, namesakes to them, among the sons of Mil, but they were not the same."

<sup>25</sup> "Amairgen is the center of all the stories contained in the *Gabháil Mac Mileadh* [Invasion of the Sons of Mil] . . . He is the only character of the story."—van Hamel, "On *Lebor Gabála*," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, X (1915), 179. See further van Hamel, "Partholon," *Revue Celtique*, L (1933), 217-37.

Philtra and Lucy are Spenser's new names for their Irish wives. It is even possible that Spenser's source may have suggested, without recourse to the tale of Partholon's sons, the idea of the interchange of wives by the two knights, since there is some confusion in the extant stories as to the wife of each.<sup>26</sup> Whatever Spenser's source, we may be certain that, in accordance with his wont, he made changes in it which suited his purpose.

But what of the wreck, and if Spenser did not know the tale of Partholon's sons, what of the dowry? A further narrative concerning the sons of Milesius appears in a genealogical tract in the Book of Lecan:<sup>27</sup>

The fleet of the race of Japheth, son of Noah, went from the lands of Greece until they were in Egypt with Pharaoh (*Forand*), and reached Ireland at the end of two years after the People of God had crossed the Red Sea. Historians say that they first landed in Inber Duin . . ., but druidical mist (that is, the smoke of druidism)<sup>28</sup> kept them from landing. Then they went right-hand-wise around Ireland and came to Inber Scéne. It is there that Er son of Mil came to land, and so died. The druidical mist killed him. . . .

Then they landed, Eber and Eremon and twelve lords with them. It is uncertain whether they brought any women with them, except for the daughters of Pharaoh, even the wife of Eber, who is called Scota,<sup>29</sup> and the others. Historians say there had been a fleet of maidens of the Hebrews to meet them in Ireland. A sea-storm had driven them into the ocean west of the Mediterranean Sea so that they came to Ireland and were there before the sons of Mil.

Then they said to the sons of Mil that their own land was more suitable for them, and that they would not abandon it without receiving a dowry (*tindscra*)<sup>30</sup> for alliance (*cairdes*) with them.

<sup>26</sup> In the *Banshenchus* (*Revue Celtique*, XLVII, 293, 319), Eremon is said to have two wives, Odba and Tea, but in *Leabhar Gabhála* we are told that "Eremon buried Dil (literally, "Dear") for the love he had for her, so that in putting a sod on her, he said, 'This is a sod on a dear one.'" But according to the *Banshenchus* (*Rev. Celt.*, XLVIII, 206), Dil was the wife of Eber and the mother of Eber's sons. (Where the *Leabhar Gabhála* makes Dil the wife of Donn, the *Banshenchus* lists Donn's wife as Dellsaire.)

<sup>27</sup> My translation from the Irish is based upon the texts of Vernam Hull, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, XIX (1933), 156-7; Toirdhealbhach Ó Raithbheartaigh, *Genealogical Tracts*, I (Dublin 1932), C 189, pp. 195-6.

<sup>28</sup> The "Celtic mist" is a favorite device of Irish story-tellers. Compare the "foggy mists" and "darksome clouds" raised by Duessa (*Faerie Queene*, I, ii.38.5; v.13.6-9; iv.36.7, etc.).

<sup>29</sup> Scota *ingen Foraind rig Eigepti* (daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt) was, according to the *Banshenchus* (*Rev. Celt.*, XLVIII, 167), the wife of Mil, and the mother of Eremon and Eber.

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of *tindscra* and *coibche*, Irish words for "dowry," see Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, XV, 356 ff., and *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1936), 113-21, where Thurneysen discusses this passage from the Book of Lecan.

Thus it is that the men always purchase the women in Ireland, instead of the mutual dowering of couples as is the custom in the rest of the world.

Then the two sons of Mil divided Ireland between them. . . .

Thus we find "long tossing in the seas distress" <sup>31</sup> and shipwreck and treasure and dowry (which requires special explanation from the legal point of view) and a quarrel instigated by their wives clearly associated with different versions of the legend of the two sons of Mil. Of particular interest in connection with Spenser is the reference in the Book of Lecan to "the daughters of Pharaoh, even the wife of Eber, who is called Scota." For it is obvious from the *View of the Present State of Ireland* that Spenser was familiar with her story:

*Iren.* . . . I doe herin relye upon those Bards or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves, through theyr ignorauance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleve and avouch them, but unto them besides I add my owne reading; and out of them both togither, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinitye of woordes and names, properties of natures and uses, resemblances of rytes and ceremonyes, monumentes of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstaunces, I doe gather a likelihood of trueth. . . .<sup>32</sup>

*Iren.* . . . And herin also lyeth open an other manifest proof that the Irish be Scythes or Scotts, for in all theyr encounters they use one very common woord, crying Farrih, Farrih, which is a Scottish woord, to weete, the name of one of the first Kinges of Scotland, called Fargus, Fergus, or Ferragus. . . .

*Eudox.* . . . Mr. Stanihurst . . . thereupon groundeth a very gross imagination, that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, wherupon they use (sayth he) in all theyr battells to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Farrih, Farrih. Surely he shoothes wyde on the bowe hand, and very farr from the marke. For I would first knowe of him what auncient ground of authoritye he hath for such a senceless fable, and yf he found it in any of the rude Irish bookees. . . .

*Iren.* You know not, Eudoxus, how well Mr. Stanihurst could see in the dark. . . . But as for Farrih I have told you my conjecture onely, and yet thus much more I have to proove a like-

<sup>31</sup> *Faerie Queene*, V, iv.11.8.

<sup>32</sup> *Globe* ed., p. 625. In this comment on his reading (and oral instruction from his bard?) we appear to have the secret of Spenser's eclectic fusion from his variegated sources.

lyehoode, that there are this day yet in Ireland, many Irish men (cheifly in the North partes) called by the name of Farreehs. . . .<sup>33</sup>

If the *View of the Present State of Ireland* tells us anything about Spenser, it serves to show what was occupying his thoughts at Kilcolman before 1596. Its dialogue form emphasizes his strong inclination to draw contrasts between the reality of his Irish surroundings and the more ideal conditions which his proposed reforms would bring about. Much of his dissatisfaction with the laws and customs smacks of querulous lamentation; it breathes sighs as deep as any ever uttered in the *Cave of Despair*. Perhaps it is only to be expected as the culminating note of a poet who years before had written *Complaints* and *Tears of the Muses* and the plaintive eclogues of the Shephearde Calender. When he finds fault with the law, he condemns it in both its English and its Irish forms. Only a Utopia could provide the Aristotelian justice which is needed, and Ireland is no Utopia. It is a strange and Spenser-like paradox that leads him to give the heroic Artegall, his Knight of Justice, an Irish name!

There were valid reasons for Spenser's interest, at the time he was writing Book V, in a legal case which "seems to involve the issue between law and equity."<sup>34</sup> His litigation with Lord Roche was already of annoyingly long duration and showed no signs of an early settlement or an outcome satisfactory to the poet, in spite of the fact that Roche was in continual hot water with the English officials.<sup>35</sup> Spenser felt increasingly, no doubt, the harshness of the law and the need for what he considered corrective justice. He became, in his own interests, more and more familiar with the law—not only with English and Roman law,<sup>36</sup> but with the Brehon law

<sup>33</sup> Globe ed., pp. 632-3. In Spenser's time, more than today, the name Farris, Farrissey (Irish Ó Fearghuis, Ó Fearghusa) was confined to the North of Ireland. See Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall* (Irish Names and Surnames), (Dublin, 1923), p. 524.

<sup>34</sup> C. G. O. in *A Variorum Edition*, V, 195. In the *Dindshenchas* of Mag Dumach (Gwynn, IV, 260), where the story of the battle between Eremon and Eber is again told, the emphasis is clearly placed upon "corrective justice": "Because it was not just, said Eber,—he deemed it too little to have but one of the hills. . . ." With the "hills" for which Eremon and Eber fight in this poem, compare Spenser's

Two Ilands, which ye there before you see  
Not farre in sea; of which the one appeares  
But like a little Mount of small degree. (IV, iv.7)

<sup>35</sup> See *Calendar of State Papers for Ireland* and *Carew MSS.*, *passim*; particularly Perrot's letter: "He hath had two or three pardons since James FitzMaurice's last rebellion" (*CSPI*, 1586-88, p. 3), and the Lord Deputy's "information charging Viscount Roche with crimes of high nature" leading to his detention in Dublin Castle (*CSPI*, 1596-97, p. 293).

<sup>36</sup> "It may be assumed that Spenser was acquainted with the law of the sea, for his clerkship in Munster must have brought it to his attention; moreover, his friend Sir Walter Raleigh was involved in several cases dealing with wreck and flotsam" (Nelson, p. 399).

which, Spenser makes it clear, was practised extensively in Ireland:

*Iren.* It is a certayne rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, *in which oftentimes there appeareth greate shewe of equytye*, in determining the right betweene party and partie, but in many thinges repugning quite both to God and mans lawe. . . .

*Eudox.* This is a most wicked lawe indeed; but I trust it is not now used in Ireland since the kinges of England have had the absolute dominion therof, and established theyr owne lawes there.

*Iren.* Yes, truly, for there be *many wide countryes in Ireland in which the lawes of England were never established*, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made; and also even in those that are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet *the same Bre-hoone lawe is practised amongst themselves*, by reason, that dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst themselves theyr owne crimes, of which noe notice can be had by them which woulde and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.<sup>37</sup>

A study of Spenser's *View* makes it amply evident that his inquiries into the Brehon law, however prejudiced or mistaken his conception of it may have been, were not completely superficial.<sup>38</sup> He is guilty of mistakes and misinterpretations,<sup>39</sup> but has some justification for priding himself on his investigations into such customs as *cin comfhocais*, "liability of kindred" (*Kin-cogish*), *air-eachtas* (Rath assembly), and *coindmed*, "billetting" (*Coignye*).<sup>40</sup> From his bardic instructor he perhaps inquired as much about the Irish laws as about Irish literature and folklore. And his instructor was doubtless well qualified, for in Ireland the Brehon law was an important part of the curriculum in the bardic schools long after the time of Spenser.<sup>41</sup>

Students of the *Faerie Queene*, including Nelson, have until now applied the principles of Roman and English law to those passages of the poet which call for legal commentary. In view of Spenser's thoroughly English background and sympathies, the as-

<sup>37</sup> Globe ed., pp. 610-11. The italics are mine.

<sup>38</sup> See, however, Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland*, pp. 186-88.

<sup>39</sup> Including his misrepresentation of Stanyhurst (Gottfried, *LTLS*, Oct. 31, 1936, p. 887).

<sup>40</sup> These are ancient Irish usages, referred to in the old laws, unlike "Sorehin and such like, the which (I think) at first were customes brought in by the English upon the Irish" (*View*, Globe ed., p. 623).

<sup>41</sup> Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland*, p. 73. An idea of the amount of memorizing required of an Irish professional poet may be gathered from the introduction to the *Senchus Mór* (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, 44 ff.).

sumption that Spenser was thinking in terms of English law is reasonable enough. But it should also be recognized that Spenser had gained an acquaintance with Irish law which can be shown to be much broader than that contained in his *View*. The Irish law, it must be remembered, owes nothing to Roman law<sup>42</sup> and was flourishing before King Alfred decided to collect the laws of Wessex.<sup>43</sup> Its marked divergences account in some measure for the difficulty of other peoples to understand it, not only in Spenser's time, but ever since. What, one may ask, does this native law offer concerning flotsam and wreck and the judgment of Artegall?

Only a small number of passages from the Irish *Muirbretha* or "Sea Judgments" have come down to us. These laws are listed with others early in the text of the *Senchus Mór* in connection with *Athgabáil* or "Distraint":<sup>44</sup> *Fidbretha, finebretha, osbretha, muirbretha*, "Wood judgments, family judgments, water judgments, sea judgments. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

In Heptad XVII (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, V, 182, 9) one of the seven *éraics*<sup>46</sup> that deserve to be impugned is *eiric tar cend murciurthi cin apu do righ no do nech besai*, "éraic on behalf of a person cast up by the sea, without notice to the king or to him whose subject he had been."

But of most interest are the fuller text and commentary from the Book of Aicill:

*Diles i Muirbrethaib airi ruanada dar nae tondaib.* "In the Sea Judgments, one is entitled to a champion's load"<sup>47</sup> over nine waves."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> It is cognate with Roman law. As Eoin MacNeill, "Ireland and Wales in the History of Jurisprudence," *Studies*, 1927, p. 249, states: "If ancient Irish law is no mere record of primitive customary law, it is none the less a peculiarly European development. . . . There is no authentic trace of the influence of Roman law, nor do I know of any evidence that Roman law had any interest for the Irish jurists."

<sup>43</sup> Laurence Ginnell, *The Breton Laws*, 3d. ed., p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Spenser's *View*, Globe ed., p. 622: "Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull distrayning of any mans goodes agaynst the forme of the Common Lawe to be felony."

<sup>45</sup> *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, 182, 1. See also I, 128, 20-24, and *Ur-chuilliti Bretheman*, Irish Texts, IV (London, 1934), 26, § 8.

<sup>46</sup> In Spenser's *View* Irenaeus condemns *éraic* (Globe ed., p. 610): "in the case of murder, the Brehoon, that is theyr judge, will compound betweene the murderer and the frendes of the party murthered, . . . that the malefactor shall give unto them . . . a recompence, which they call an *Iriach* [misprinted *Breaghe*]; by which by lawe of theyrs, many murders are amongst them made up and smoothered."

<sup>47</sup> With *aire ruanada*, "champion's burden," compare *sét ruanada*, "champion's treasure-trove," Myles Dillon, "Stories from the Law Tracts," *Eriu*, XI (1930), 50, line 21, where the story is concerned with the sons of Mil and the judgment of Amairgen.

<sup>48</sup> *Ancient Laws*, III, 422, where the translation into English is completely inadequate. See Amairgen's first judgment cited above, and note 17.

(That is, if one goes a distance of nine waves to save flotsam, it belongs to him and not to the owner of the land.)

According to the commentary which follows the text, "when the treasures<sup>49</sup> are brought across nine waves of the sea by one who went specially for them, they are all the property of the person who has so brought them thence." Here we have the law which applies to Bracidas, who has done Lucy the "great fauour" of risking his life to rescue her (i.e., beyond nine waves) :

Where I by chaunce then wandring on the shore,  
Did her espy, and through my good endeuour  
From dreadfull mouth of death, which threatened sore  
Her to haue swallow'd vp, did helpe to sauе her. (V, iv, 12.)

If, however, the treasure is not flotsam or jetsam but "wreck," it belongs to the owner of the land: *Diles tochur do fir puit*, which is rendered "What is cast ashore is the property of the owner of the shore."<sup>50</sup>

The commentary further states: "The following are all ruled by the 'refusal and consent' (*feimed ocus uriasacht*) of the family: treasures that are recovered from oceans and from battlefields and from whirlpools and from vortices. . ." With this phrasing compare the judgment of Artegall :

For what the mighty Sea hath once possest,  
And plucked quite from all possessors hand,  
Whether by rage of waues, that neuer rest,  
Or else by wracke, that wretches hath distrest,  
He may dispose by his imperiall might. . . . (xix.2-6.)

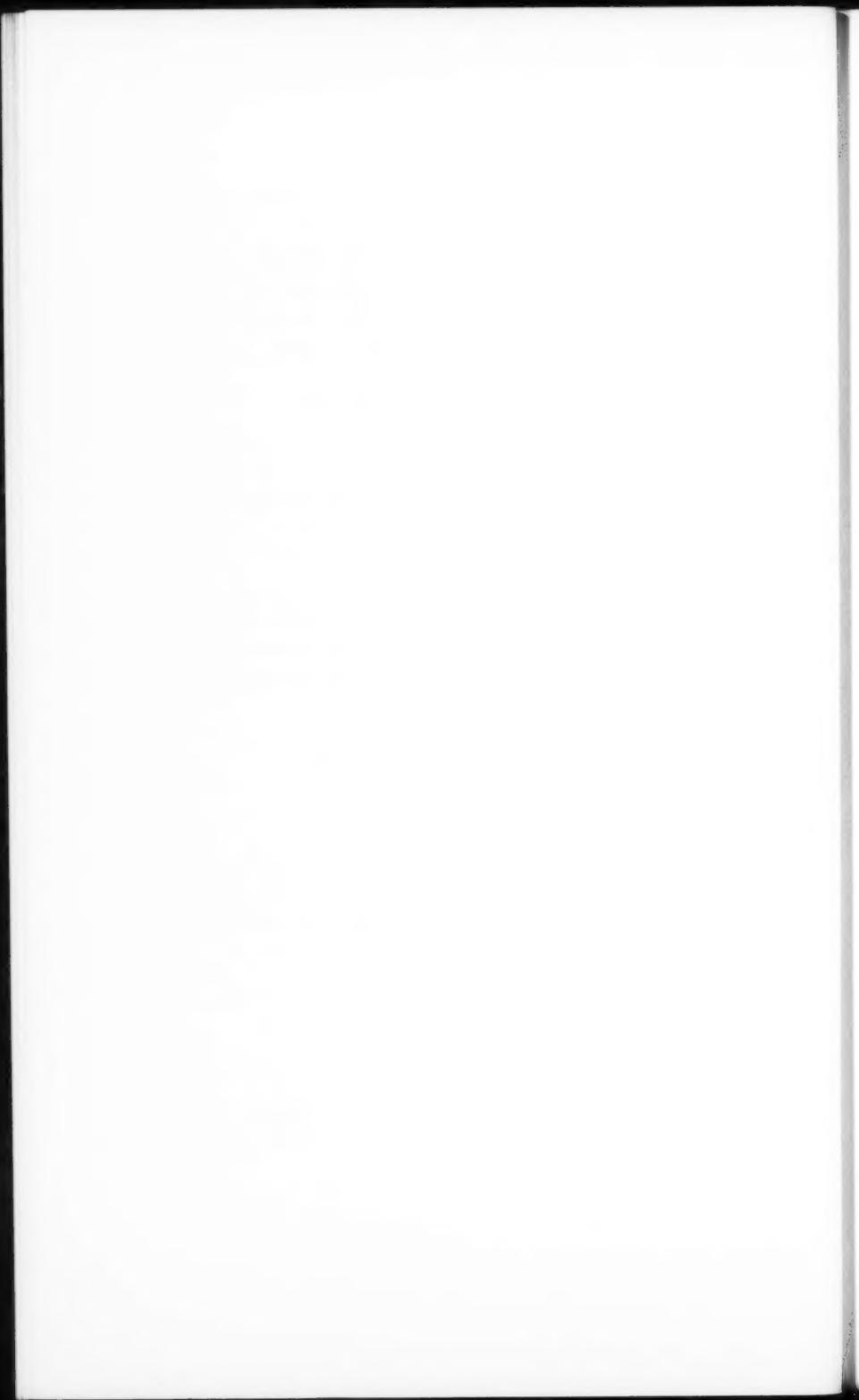
Spenser, like his master Chaucer, drew for his material from both written and oral sources. It is impossible to account entirely for his knowledge of Irish affairs from his reading of historians like Stanyhurst. As he himself tells us: "I doe herin relye upon those Bards or Irish Chroniclers, . . . but unto them besides I add my owne reading."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> The Irish legal term for treasure is *sēl*, *sēd*. Cf. Spenser's use of "treasure" in xiii.2, 5; xv.5; xviii.3; xix.9; xx.4. See also note 47.

<sup>50</sup> *Ancient Laws*, III, 424, line 13. See also the commentary on pp. 430-31.

<sup>51</sup> *View*, Globe ed., p. 625.



## A TASSO IMITATION IN SPENSER

By CHANDLER B. BEALL

It has long been known that certain sonnets in Spenser's *Amoretti* were imitated or translated from Tasso. Recently, further borrowings from Tasso's sonnets have been discovered by Mrs. Janet Scott Espiner,<sup>1</sup> and Professor Hutton has shown that the poem with which Spenser ends his *Amoretti*, although on a traditional theme, derives from a madrigal of Tasso's.<sup>2</sup> I wish here to point out that sonnet XXX of the *Amoretti*, likewise on a traditional theme, seems also to have come from Tasso. The conceit of fire kindled by ice was not invented by Tasso, but may be found in various forms in practically all the Italian Petrarchists, and Petrarch himself had written:

D'un bel, chiaro, polito e vivo ghiaccio  
Move la fiamma che m'incende e strugge.

Mrs. Espiner<sup>3</sup> cites a few lines on the same theme by Serafino, Cazza and Watson as possible suggestions for Spenser's ampler development, but fails to note the closer parallel with Tasso. A comparison of the texts shows, I believe, direct imitation on Spenser's part, with little more freedom than was required to expand eight lines into a sonnet:

My loue is lyke to yse, and I to fyre;  
how comes it then that this her cold so great  
is not dissolu'd through my so hot desyre,  
but harder growes the more I her intreat?  
Or how comes it that my exceeding heat  
is not delayd by her hart frosen cold:  
but that I burne much more in boylng sweat,  
and feele my flames augmented manifold?  
What more miraculous thing may be told  
that fire which all things melts, should harden yse:  
and yse which is congeald with sencelesse cold,  
should kindle fyre by wonderful deuyse?  
Such is the power of loue in gentle mind,  
that it can alter all the course of kynd.

<sup>1</sup> Janet G. Scott, "The Sources of Spenser's *Amoretti*," *MLR*, XX (1922), 189-95; *Les Sonnets élisabéthains* (Paris, Champion, 1929), pp. 163-7, 319-20.

<sup>2</sup> James Hutton, "Cupid and the Bee," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 1036-58.

<sup>3</sup> *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 170-1.

Come si m'accendete  
Se tutto ghiaccio sete?  
E al foco, che mi date,  
Voi ghiaccio, come voi non dileguate?  
Anzi a sue fiamme, ahi lasso!  
Di ghiaccio diventate un duro sasso.  
O miracol d'Amor fuor di natura,  
Ch'un ghiaccio altri arda, ed egli al foco indura!\*

Less successful English imitations of Tasso's little poem were made by Suckling and Drummond, as G. A. Dunlop has pointed out in a buried footnote<sup>5</sup> which I mention here because it might easily be overlooked by students of English literature.

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\* T. Tasso, *Opere* (Florence, 1724), II, 367.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Dunlop, "The Sources of the Idyls of Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye," *MP*, XII (1914), 146, note 3.

## SPENSER'S VIEW AND THE TRADITION OF THE "WILD" IRISH

By WALTER J. ONG

In *A View of the Present State of Ireland*<sup>1</sup> there is a puzzling inconsistency between Edmund Spenser's policy of subjugation and his attitude toward the Irish as a race. His savage recipes for the conquest of the Irish have been variously explained as springing from the official English point of view, more especially from that of Grey,<sup>2</sup> or even as being an outright "reasoned defence of Grey's character and policy."<sup>3</sup> The *View* has likewise been interpreted in the light of Machiavellian politics,<sup>4</sup> or of Jean Bodin's *Six Livres de la Republique*.<sup>5</sup> But these interpretations do not solve the problem of the inconsistency.

Spenser advocates a policy toward the Irishman that "will so plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe"<sup>6</sup> and calls for a repetition of the Munster horrors, when the Irish

out of every corner of the woods and glynnes . . . came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carriions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves. (*Ibid.*, pp. 430-31.)

And yet, for all this savagery, the reader of the *View* is constantly confronted with a curious reserve in Spenser's condemnation of conditions in Ireland. Spenser is extremely sparing in

<sup>1</sup> *A View of the State of Ireland*: Written Dialogue-Wise betweene Eudoxus and Irenaeus, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Henry John Todd (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Cadell and Davies, and R. H. Evans, 1805), VIII, 297-512.

<sup>2</sup> Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1928), pp. 168-69; also William Butler Yeats as cited, *ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> E. de Sélincourt, Introduction to *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by J. C. Smith and E. de Sélincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Edwin Greenlaw, "The Influence of Machiavelli on Spenser," *MP*, VII (1909-10), 187-202. Greenlaw's views have been contested by H. S. V. Jones in *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, V, 3 [August, 1919]), 151-219.

<sup>5</sup> H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1930), pp. 379-84.

<sup>6</sup> *View*, VIII, 426.

his criticism of the Irish character, always careful to place the blame elsewhere. Speaking as Irenaeus, he says:

I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the evils, which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and first, those (I say) which were most auncient and long growne. And they also are of three sorts: The first in the Lawes, the second in Customes, and the last in Religion. (*Ibid.*, p. 301.)

Despite his grievances against the Irish and despite the savage policy with which he was officially identified, this represents Spenser's approach to an explanation of the Irish problem (as against his solution for it). And he lived in an age of bitter controversy when the art of vilification in jest or in earnest was receiving a plenary development. Elsewhere Spenser's curious reserve in impugning the Irish character brings him to beggar his whole case by his observation that

the cheifest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the English, and some of them are now much more lawlesse and licentious [i.e., unregulated by good order] then the very wilde Irish. (*Ibid.*, p. 382.)

The present paper will attempt to account for Spenser's carefully delimited antagonism by examining the literary tradition from which he drew.

The most important work of Spenser's day concerning Ireland was of course *The Second Volume of Chronicles: conteining the Description, Conquest, Inhabitation, and Troublesome Estate of Ireland . . .*, published by Raphael Holinshed.<sup>7</sup> From this volume and its antecedents to Spenser's *View* the lines of an important tradition are distinctly visible.<sup>8</sup>

Done in part by Holinshed himself, in part by John Hooker (alias Vowell), and in part by Richard Stanyhurst,<sup>9</sup> the *Chronicles of Ireland* lean heavily on Edmund Campion's *A Historie of Ireland*, which they incorporate almost entirely into themselves, al-

<sup>7</sup> Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Vol. VI, *Ireland* (London: J. Johnson, etc., 1808).

<sup>8</sup> For Spenser's use of Stanyhurst and other sources in the *View*, see Frank F. Covington, Jr., "Spenser's Use of Irish History in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*," *University of Texas Studies in English*, IV (1924), 5-38; and also Edmund Campion, *A Historie of Ireland* (1571), edited in facsimile by Rudolph B. Gottfried (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1940) from *The Historie of Ireland* edited by Sir James Ware (Dublin, 1633), Introduction by the editor, pp. v-vi.

<sup>9</sup> See Holinshed's *Chronicles*, VI, sigs. a<sup>r</sup>-b<sup>v</sup>, and Campion, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. iv-v.

though in a free way,<sup>10</sup> with nearly every sentence slightly altered and that mostly for the worse. Campion himself,<sup>11</sup> and the compilers of the *Chronicles* to some extent even independently of Campion,<sup>12</sup> rely largely upon the very important sources, the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales, or Gerald de Barri).<sup>13</sup> Since Holinshed's treatment of the Irish character is nothing more nor less than that of Cambrensis and Campion, for the present study only the works of these two last mentioned writers need be examined.

In Cambrensis and in Campion, as in Spenser, the reader finds himself disconcerted by a curious mixture of statements concerning the Irish. Typical is the paradox in Cambrensis whereby the reader is informed that among them "the bad are bad indeed—there are nowhere worse," but that "than the good [among them] you cannot find better."<sup>14</sup> And similarly in Campion's *Historie*, the same work which has given its author such a mighty reputation for enmity toward the Irish,<sup>15</sup> we find it recorded that the Irish, on being "vertuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austertie, that other Nations retaine but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them" (p. 13). These same Irish who are in some instances "worse then too badde" in "gluttonie and other hatfull crimes," are in other instances given to abstinence and fasting as a "familiar kinde of chastisement" (*ibid.*). They are at once "intractable" and "kinde-hearted," "sharpe-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studie whereunto they bend themselves" (*ibid.*, p. 14).

In a survey of the statements made by Campion, Holinshed, Stanyhurst, and Spenser, the constant application of the term "wild"

<sup>10</sup> See Campion, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. iv-v. The parts of the *Chronicles of Ireland* done by Holinshed himself as well as the parts done by Stanyhurst both utilize Campion, and in almost the same way.

<sup>11</sup> See Campion's foreword "To the loving Reader," *op. cit.*, sig. [¶5\*].

<sup>12</sup> The *Chronicles* include, among other things, John Hooker's translation of Cambrensis' *Expugnatio Hibernica* (VI, 121-32).

<sup>13</sup> *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Vol. V, ed. by James F. Dimock ("Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores," Rolls series; [London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867]). The two treatises on Ireland appear in English in *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, trans. by Thomas Forester and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, revised and edited by Thomas Wright (London: H. G. Bohn, 1863), pp. 1-324.

<sup>14</sup> *The Topography of Ireland*, in *Historical Works*, p. 141.

<sup>15</sup> For a list of some of the polemical literature, see Edmund Hogan, "The Blessed Edmund Campion's 'History of Ireland' and Its Critics," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (third series), XII (1891), 631-32, 735. Cambrensis' anti-Hibernianism, which is perhaps more demonstrable than Campion's, has been most fiercely attacked in the seventeenth-century *Cambrensis Eversus* of Gratianus Lucius (John Lynch), ed. with translation by Matthew Kelly (3 vols.; Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1848-51 [54]).

to the Irish race cannot but be noted. Cambrensis applies the Latin equivalent "barbarus" with equal industry.<sup>16</sup> The term "wild Irish" is indeed a stock phrase and is accorded special treatment as such in the *New English Dictionary*. But here the phrase is of special value in unraveling our tangled clew. To a reader of Cambrensis, Campion, and Spenser, nothing is more clear than that the "wildness" of the Irish was the particular characteristic which concerned the English writers and which, at least for the four centuries preceding Spenser, largely determined the attitude of the English toward their neighbors across the channel.

The English were never able to understand the Irish system of tribal organization, which was so contrary to the ideal of the citizen developing in England. Even at the close of the twelfth century Cambrensis tells his readers that the Irish

*are a rude people*, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living themselves like beasts—a people that has *not yet departed from the primitive habits of pastoral life*. In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town, and to the social condition of citizens; but this nation . . . lead the same life their fathers did in the woods and open pastures, neither willing to abandon their old habits or learn anything new.<sup>17</sup>

This is indeed an early appearance of the doctrine of progress, but Cambrensis' opinion on the basic fault of the Irish cannot be misunderstood. He insists:

This people, then, *is truly barbarous*, being not only barbarous in their dress, but suffering their hair and beards (*barbis*) to grow enormously in an uncouth manner . . . indeed, *all their habits are barbarisms*. . . . *Whatever natural gifts they possess are excellent*, in whatever requires industry they are worthless. (*Ibid.*, pp. 125-26; italics mine.)

And again,

although they are *richly endowed with the gifts of nature*, their *want of civilization*, shown both in their dress and mental culture, *makes them a barbarous people*. (*Ibid.*, p. 122; italics mine.)

This is a clear statement of the interpretation of the Irish question which was to find favor among the English for many centuries to come. The Irish were rude and uncultivated. They did indeed have a nature amenable to civilization, but they were, as a

<sup>16</sup> See esp. *Topographica Hibernica*, Distinction III [Ch. X], in *Opera*, V, 149-53.

<sup>17</sup> *The Topography of Ireland*, in *Historical Works*, p. 124 (italics mine).

matter of fact, uncivilized. In a word, they wanted art. But the nature on which that art was to build was a thoroughly satisfactory one. Thus our historian's enumeration of the good and bad qualities of the Irish becomes more understandable as these qualities are seen almost all to gravitate toward either of two poles—the good being referred to nature, the bad to the unimproved condition of this nature. The unimproved condition arises either from an absence of art or from positive corruption.

It would be superfluous at this point to explain the vast ramifications of this conclusion. Nevertheless, it should be recalled that European culture from Cambrensis' to Spenser's day and beyond included in its educational system the metaphysical background that gives the words "art" and "nature" a significance of a kind hardly approximated within the desiccated terminologies of associationist psychologies with which our present educational system is shot through. The premise that the Irish were abundantly endowed by nature but wanted the art which makes culture thus carried with it a great wealth of meaning. With the two further premises that the English were cultivated in those arts which the Irish lacked and that England had a right to Ireland by virtue of conquest, the imposition of English customs and laws upon the Irish was an indisputable conclusion.

The complaints lodged by Cambrensis against the Irish fall so largely into the category of faults springing from lack of cultivation that they leave little doubt concerning his general indictment of the Irish as a rude and uncivilized nation. The passages already quoted show his general stand, and the evidence of these passages is corroborated by a multitude of specific instances. The lack of variety of fruit trees in the island, for example, is due to lack of industry on the part of the Irish—they do not improve the land any more than they do themselves (*ibid.*, pp. 124-25), and the land thus lies in as "natural" a state as they do. The Irish, moreover, live in a region remote from civilized nations, we are told, and the absence of civilized influence brings it about that barbarism "sticks to them like a second nature" (*ibid.*, p. 126). Their barbarity is responsible for the fact that they lavish their love on foster-children and foster-brothers rather than on their own (*ibid.*, p. 137). Giving early expression to views of which Spenser was later to make much, Cambrensis complains of the lawlessness of the Irish "that every one may do just as he pleases; and that the question is not what is right, but what suits his purpose" (*ibid.*), and then goes on to tie up this failing in the Irish with the general theme of art and nature by the didactic observation that "the path

of pleasure leads easily downwards, and nature readily imitates vice" (*ibid.*, p. 138).

This same general pattern is not hard to find in Campion's *Historie*. Campion was in no position to form an independent estimate of the Irishman—and in one way it is unfortunate that he was not, for with the kind of objectivity which it seems he could command,<sup>18</sup> his estimate would have been of considerable worth. But he had not been in Ireland long, and he had spent his time there more or less in retirement.<sup>19</sup> His ignorance of Gaelic kept veiled from him the Irish chronicles, from which he tells us "I am persuaded that with choice and judgment, I might have sucked . . . some better store of matter."<sup>20</sup> These he "gladly would have sought" with the aid of an interpreter of Gaelic, but among the Anglo-Irish with whom alone he was on terms of familiarity, "scarcely five in five hundred can skill thereof" (*ibid.*). In the absence of other written sources of the kind he wanted, Campion therefore applied himself to Cambrensis.

Campion was critical of his own sources, but in the matter of nature and art as explaining the Irish "enormities" he apparently found nothing in Cambrensis to be suspicious of. The tradition that the Irish were mere "natural" men, perhaps even corrupted by evil custom, was evidently still of sufficient strength in Campion's day to allay any suspicions which he might have been tempted to cherish that the Irish were being unfairly judged. Of them he observes that

the *lewd*er sort both Clarkes and Lay-men, are sensuall and loose to leachery above measure. The same *being virtuously bred up or reformed* are such mirrores of holinesse and austertie, that other Nations retaine but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. (*Ibid.*, p. 13; italics mine.)

This is an echo of Cambrensis, and it shows clearly that Campion adopts Cambrensis' belief in the unregenerate nature of the Irish-

<sup>18</sup> See his words of praise for Bellingham (*Historie*, p. 123), written despite the fact that Bellingham was "an exceeding fervent Protestant" (*ibid.*) and Campion a half-refugee, suspect because of his Catholic leanings (Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion* [London: Williams and Norgate, 1867], pp. 29-30; and Campion, *Historie*, Introduction, pp. iii-iv); see also his citation of St. Thomas More against those who alleged that King John "gave away his Kingdome to the See of Rome" (*ibid.*, p. 75; More, *The Supplicacion of Soules*, in *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knighth . . . Wrytten by Him in the Englysh Tonge* [London: John Cawood, John Waly, and Richard Tottell, 1557], p. 296 A-D), and the story against his own countrymen which he retails from Cambrensis (*Historie*, p. 44; Cambrensis, *The Topography of Ireland*, in *Historical Works*, pp. 145-46).

<sup>19</sup> See Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42, and Campion, *Historie*, Introduction, pp. iii-iv.

<sup>20</sup> Campion, *op. cit.*, sig. [ff6r].

man.' And there are many other passages which leave no doubt at all of Campion's position.

Hitherto the Irish of both sortes meere,<sup>21</sup> and English, are affected much indifferently, saving that in these, by good order, and breaking the same, vertues are farre more pregnant. In those others, by *licentious* [i.e., *unregulated*] and *evill custome*, the same faults are more extreme and odious, *I say, by licentious and evill custome, for that there is daylie tryall of good natures among them.* How soone they bee reclaymed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wise-dome, they doe and have aspired. (*Op. cit.*, p. 14; italics mine.)

The Irish are initiated to barbarity from the cradle:

Their infants of the meaner sort, are neither swaddled, nor lapped in Linnen, but foulded up starke naked into a Blankett till they can goe, and then if they get a piece of rugge to cover them, they are well sped. (*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.)

This passage echoes Cambrensis, who had noted that

this people are not tenderly nursed from their birth, as others are; . . . *almost all is left to nature.* They are not placed in cradles, or swathed.<sup>22</sup>

And, again echoing Cambrensis, Campion notes the effects of such habits on the adults:

Cleare men they are of Skinne and hue, but of themselves carelesse and bestiall. Their Women are well fauoured, cleare coloured, faire handed, bigge and large, *suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of* [i.e., not attentive to, not using any art on] *their feature and proportion of body.* (*Op. cit.*, p. 17; italics mine.)

True to the spirit that had already produced Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, Campion, in contrast to Cambrensis, sees as blameworthy the failure to employ the arts of developing the body. For the

<sup>21</sup> The meaning is "pure" or "unmixed" (Lat. *merus*). Under the article "Mere" in the *New English Dictionary*, VI (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908), 353, where these meanings are given, it is noted that the word in this sense occurs "chiefly in *mere Irish* . . . now often misunderstood as a term of disparagement." It is interesting to note that Stanyhurst, besides the term "mere Irish" uses also "méere English" (*Holinshed's Chronicles*, Vol. VI, *Ireland*, p. 3).

<sup>22</sup> *The Topography of Ireland*, in *Historical Works*, p. 122 (italics inserted). Cambrensis also (*ibid.*) notes the use of rugs (Lat. *phalangium*; Irish *falach*).

Welshman, the arts of physical development needed not to be consciously cultivated:

Nature alone, with very slight aids from art, disposes and adjusts the limbs to which she has given birth, just as she pleases. As if to prove that what she is able to form she does not cease to shape also, she gives growth and proportions to these people, until they arrive at perfect vigour, tall and handsome in person, and with agreeable and ruddy countenances.<sup>23</sup>

Although it is perhaps stating the case too strongly to assert that *A Historie of Ireland* "is hardly so much a serious history as a pamphlet written to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish,"<sup>24</sup> there is little doubt that education, which fits so well into the picture we have been tracing, appealed to Campion as the means *par excellence*. Like Cambrensis, he does not advocate a policy of ferocity, for he remembers that often the most heinous crimes with which the Irish are chargeable are the result of simple ignorance and are easily halted. A story told with Campion's characteristic humor nevertheless presents a typical diagnosis of the Irish problem and accords thoroughly with the art-and-nature theme:

I found a fragment of an Epistle, wherein a vertuous Monke declareth, that to him (travailing in Ulster) came a grave Gentleman about Easter, desirous to be confessed and howseled, who in all his life time had never yet received the blessed Sacrament. When he had said his minde, the Priest demaunded him, whether he were faultlesse in the sinne of Homicide? Hee answered, that hee never wist the matter to bee haynous before, but being instructed thereof, hee confessed the murther of five, the rest hee left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one, and the other were execrable, and verie meekelie humbled himself to repentance. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.)

Finally, that the "enormities" of the Irish are not, in Campion's mind, due to the Irish nature but to its lack of cultivation or sometimes to its positive corruption, is made clear by his observation that

the very English of birth, conversant with the brutish sort of that people, become degenerate in a short space, and are quite altered into the worst ranke of Irish Rogues, such a force hath education to make or marre. (*Ibid.*, p. 14.)

<sup>23</sup> *The Topography of Ireland*, in *Historical Works*, p. 122 (italics inserted).

<sup>24</sup> Thompson Cooper, "Campion, Edmund," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, III (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-22), 851. As in many other places, Cooper is here following Simpson (*op. cit.*, p. 30) almost word for word.

The word "brutish" is not used undesignedly here. It has direct reference to natures obviously not adorned with any of the arts and graces of civilized life.

Within this tradition of interpreting the Irish "enormities" Spenser's attitude falls. Like Campion, he adopted the standard beliefs that the Irish were pretty far gone, and then proceeded to subject their condition to what was really the most charitable as well as the traditional interpretation. If Spenser's position is less defensible than Campion's this is because his long residence in Ireland had put him in a position to reevaluate the traditional English opinions. Campion had applied his charity to the facts as he understood them. Spenser might have understood them better, but at any rate he applied the traditional interpretation as far as Campion did. In *A View of the State of Ireland* the difference between the Irish and the English is again stated frankly in cultural terms. The English themselves, before they had acquired culture, labored under the same vices as the Irish, so much so that it is impossible to say whether the Anglo-Irish who were Spenser's contemporaries were the victims of retrogression or of mere stagnation.

You cannot but hold them [the Anglo-Irish] sure to be very uncivill; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were brought in, they should in so long an alteration of time seeme very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all England was in the raigne of Henry the Second, when Ireland was planted with English, very rude and barbarous, so as if the same should be now used in England by any, it should seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day since England grew civill: Therefore in counting the evill customes of the English there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were English or Irish, but will have respect only to the inconvenience thereof.<sup>25</sup>

Thus far Spenser follows the tradition, and as a matter of fact his attitude toward the Irish is in general little different from the earlier Cambrensis-Campion-Holinshed attitude. In so far as he follows this view, Spenser is neither Machiavellian nor savage. It is the elements of this tradition which make Spenser, as contrasted with Machiavelli, "spiritual."<sup>26</sup> But there is another side to Spenser. His brutal recipes for reducing the Irish to subjection by literally starving them until they come creeping out of the hills

<sup>25</sup> *View*, VIII, 387.

<sup>26</sup> H. S. V. Jones, in *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey*, p. 218, says that Spenser and Machiavelli are very unlike in policy: Machiavelli's duplicity is opposed by Spenser's reliance on righteousness; Spenser is "spiritual," while Machiavelli is "scientific."

on their hands is *purely a matter of policy*, and it is neither "spiritual" in Professor Jones's sense, nor a part of the earlier tradition, but rather "scientific," to use Jones's terminology again, or, if you will, Machiavellian. As Greenlaw has pointed out, Spenser's plan of subjugation is a carefully thought out plan<sup>27</sup>—the kind of thing that would hatch in the brain of a man concerned with the British imperial business which was to be put through at all costs.

The dispute over the interpretation of Spenser's mind in this matter arises from the fact that this cold and unlovely piece of policy is grafted onto an earlier growth of tradition concerning the Irish. In the earlier scheme, as we have seen, the Irish nature was equal, and in some instances even superior to the English. It had been neglected or corrupted. And thus, when we understand that Spenser never rejected this view, it becomes plain why he can be almost as bitter against the English as he is against the Irish; for the English might be the cause of the corruption of the unobjectionable Irish nature:

You think otherwise, Eudox., then I doe, for the cheifest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the English, and some of them are now much more lawlesse and licentious then the very wilde Irish: so that as much care as was by them had to reforme the Irish, so and much more must now bee used to reforme them; so much time doth alter the manners of men.<sup>28</sup>

It should be mentioned, however, that even in the matter of subjugation Spenser was not so entirely aside from the established tradition as we might be led to suppose. Campion, it is true, was not interested in the matter. But Cambrensis had subjoined to his *Expugnatio Hibernica* a brief disquisition on the manner of completely conquering the island and another on how to govern it—that is to say, largely on how to keep it conquered.<sup>29</sup> These chapters were not used by Campion, although they found their way into Holinshed via Hooker's translation of Cambrensis.<sup>30</sup> At first sight, too, even Spenser's impersonal view of the matter—his view of it as a mere piece of policy—seems foreshadowed in the Welshman, who, after adding to his *Descriptio Cambriae* two similar—and in places almost identical—treatises on how to conquer the country and how

<sup>27</sup> Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and British Imperialism," *MP*, IX (1911-12), 347-70.

<sup>28</sup> *View*, VIII, 382.

<sup>29</sup> *The Vaticinal History of the Conquest of Ireland*, Book III, Ch. XXXVI, "In What Manner Ireland Is To Be Completely Conquered," and Ch. XXXVII, "How Ireland Ought To Be Governed," in *Historical Works*, pp. 320-22 and 323-24.

<sup>30</sup> *Holinshed's Chronicles*, Vol. VI, *Ireland*, pp. 229-32.

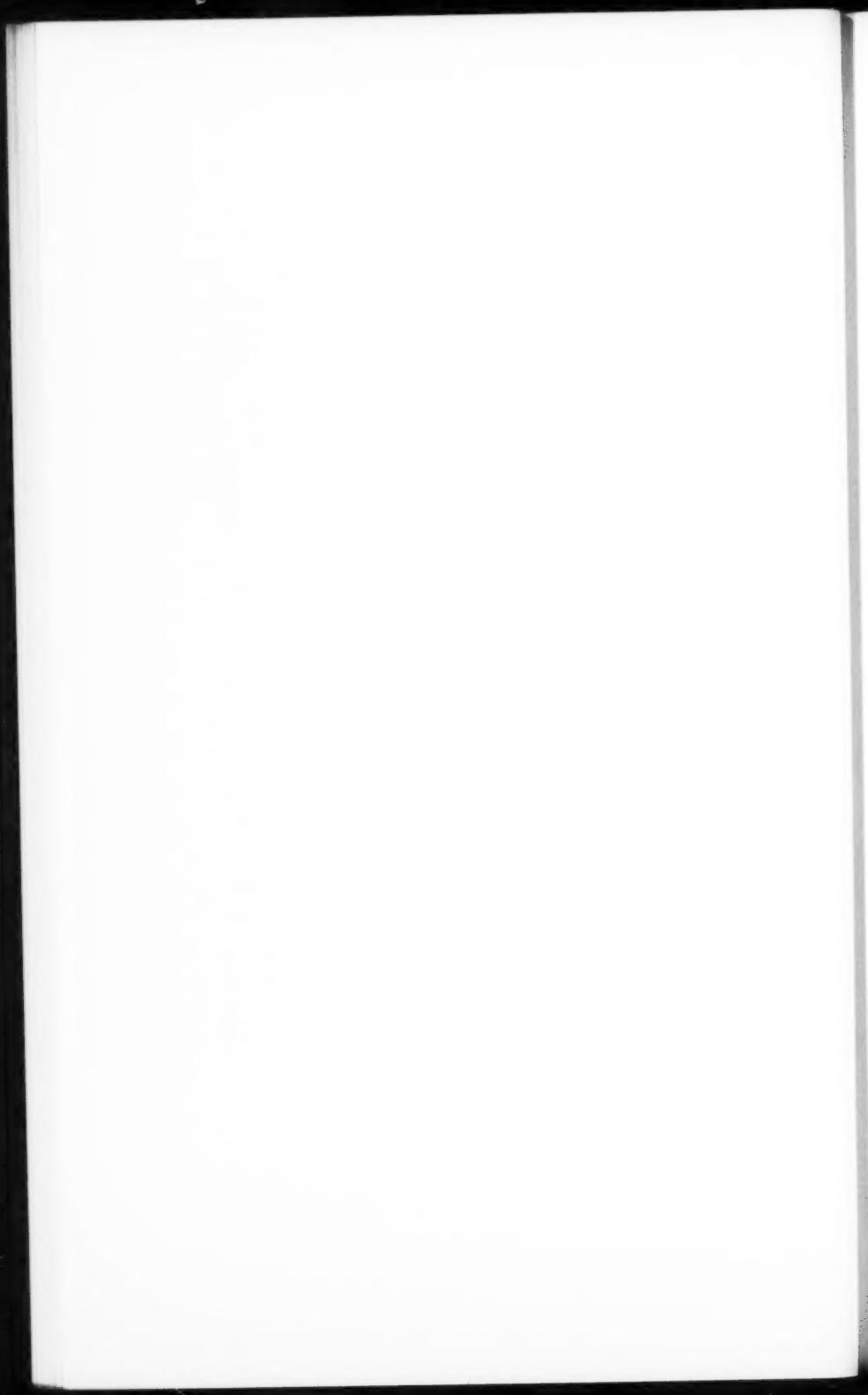
to keep it conquered,<sup>31</sup> concludes with a fine flourish in a chapter on how the Welsh may stage a successful revolt (*ibid.*, pp. 521-22).

Cambreensis explains that he does this because he is not of pure English but partly of Welsh descent (*ibid.*, p. 521). But his discussion of conquest is concerned principally with the differences between ordinary warfare and the guerilla fighting which must be used against the Irish and Welsh. One misses completely the fierceness of Spenser's plans. The conditions and motives of conquest were different in the sixteenth century from what they were in Cambreensis' day. Imperialism was not so marked in the twelfth century by insistence on success for economic reasons. Financial questions were the concern perhaps of a few wealthy nobles, not of a large bourgeois class or of a large group of ambitious gentry interested in land and profits. Although the motivation of the earlier day was perhaps as unjust, it was by no means so sordid nor so provocative of a fierce determination to succeed at all costs as was that of the government that Spenser knew.

It is not within the scope of the present study to account for all the aspects of the Irish question as it manifests itself from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the sixteenth. Thus all that is in Cambreensis, Campion, Holinshed, and Spenser has not been explained. There were many issues involved which have not even been mentioned here. The religious issue, for instance, swelled to immense proportions once it was introduced, and has remained a central problem ever since. All that has been investigated here is one of the underlying traditions which enabled the English, while pursuing their protracted conquest of Ireland, to avoid the extremes in their opinions of the Irish race which it would seem that the constant struggle against the Irish would tend to generate. Certainly much of the residue of friendliness was owing to the community of culture—for there did exist a greater community of culture than that, for instance, between the English and the American Indians—and much was undoubtedly due to honest efforts at the exercise of Christian charity. At the same time, however, a great contributory factor was the fact that the English activities in Ireland were traditionally rationalized by portraying the Irishman as a man of great natural ability, but one who wanted art.

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<sup>31</sup> *Description of Wales*, Book II, Ch. VIII, "In What Manner This Nation Is To Be Overcome," and Ch. IX, "In What Manner Wales, When Conquered, Should Be Governed," in *Historical Works*, pp. 516-19 and 519-21.



## SIDNEY'S TWO DEFINITIONS OF POETRY

By CORNELL MARCH DOWLIN

Failure to recognize the direct debt of Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* to Plato is one of the mysteries of scholarship, and gratitude is owing to Miss Irene Samuel, who in a recent article has convincingly demonstrated that Sidney's essay in its fundamental conceptions is a defense of poetry against Plato and on Plato's own grounds.<sup>1</sup>

But perhaps the mystery is not so deep, for it is a regrettable trait of scholars to prefer a search in the obscure rather than in the well known, and more particularly to be too greatly impressed by such biographical facts as a trip to the Continent, which are more striking than a lifetime spent at home,<sup>2</sup> whither foreign influences might easily filter, or, more easily, the influences that lay behind the Italian theorists who figure so largely in the annotated editions of *An Apology for Poetry*. If Miss Samuel's conclusion is of considerable importance, and one may venture that it is, a few pages of confirmation may not here seem out of place, especially since they will attempt to correct what appears to be a mistake of long standing concerning the source of one of the most important ideas in the *Apology*. What follows was prepared before Miss Samuel's article appeared, and quite naturally its approach to the problem is from a slightly different angle. It should serve to make us even more fully aware of how deep was Sidney's understanding of the bases of Plato's attack and of how he made use of the very weapons that Plato had employed.

In his treatise, Sidney offers two, similar but not identical, definitions of Poetry. The first, which is frequently said to be *the* definition, is the familiar:

Poesie therefore is an arte of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *Mimesis*, that is to say, a representing, counterfetting, or figuring foorth: to speake metaphorically, a speaking picture: with this end, to teach and delight.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Influence of Plato on Sir Philip Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*," *MLO*, I (1940), 383-91.

<sup>2</sup> For example: "The direct origin of most of the ideas [in *An Apology for Poetry*] so far as one can see, is purely Italian." J. S. P. Tatlock, "Bernardo Tasso and Sidney," *Italica*, XII (1935), 78.

<sup>3</sup> G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 158. Miss Samuel, it seems, also considers this to be *the* definition, derived partly from Aristotle, partly from Horace. *Ibid.*, 385. I cannot agree with her with respect to Horace. A "speaking picture" is much closer to Plutarch's "articulate painting" than to Horace's "ut pictura poesis," and Horace's phrase is "aut prodesse aut delectare," not *et . . . et*.

This formal statement is followed by the division of poetry into its various kinds: religious, which imitates "the inconceivable [but nonetheless real] excellencies of God"; philosophical, which deals with moral, natural, astronomical, and historical matter, and which merely copies rather than invents or feigns; and the work of the "right Poets," who "to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be: but range, onely rayned with learned discretion, into the diuine consideration of what may be, and should be."

The distinction between philosophical poetry, which copies, and poetry that does not, leads to the comment that verse is "but an ornament and no cause to Poetry," and this in turn to the second, more explicit, definition (the *genus* is omitted and only the *differ-entiae* are given):

But it [poetry] is that fayning notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with that delightfull teaching, which must be the right de-scribing note to know a Poet by.<sup>4</sup>

It is not intended here to argue which of these definitions has greater significance; but something of the importance of the second will be revealed by what follows, and it can be safely asserted that no one can read through later English criticism until 1700 without observing a pervading parallelism with it, if not direct indebtedness. Feigning and invention (the latter used not in the rhetorical sense of coming upon something already in the mind through experience, but in the sense of creating), the forming of images or patterns of perfection, the rejection of verse and other kinds of ornament as the distinguishing characteristics of poetry—these matters appear again and again as important pronouncements on the nature and technique of poetry.<sup>5</sup> If, then, the definition of poetry as "that fayning notable images of vertues, vices, or what els," is of some importance in English criticism, what of the source? And here we come upon an error that demands correction. J. E. Spingarn, the first to make a statement concerning the origin of Sidney's definition, somewhat tentatively points to Minturno:

[Poetry] is, in Sidney's phrase (a phrase apparently borrowed from Minturno), "that feigning notable images of vertues, vices, or what else. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> G. G. Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 160.

<sup>5</sup> By intention I have omitted from this list the invention and construction of plots, which many seventeenth-century critics regarded as the principal if not the sole function of the poet. (For an extended discussion of this matter see my article, "Plot as an Essential in Poetry," *RES*, XVII [1941], 166-83.) This idea is strongly implied by Sidney's definition and by the immediately preceding assertion that the *Cyropedia* and *Theagines and Cariclea* are poems though in prose. But Sidney did not speak in this place of plot or action, and the omission, as will be seen shortly, is important.

<sup>6</sup> *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), 53.

Spingarn does not quote Minturno's phrase, nor does he give us a reference, but G. G. Smith, the next to comment on the passage in *An Apology for Poetry*, is more explicit. Of Sidney's statement we are told:

This is in agreement with Minturno's general theory and may even be an echo of his phrases, e.g., "aut vitia aut virtutes effingunt," *De Poeta* [1559], p. 27.<sup>7</sup>

To this Smith adds a surprising remark:

Mr. Spingarn points out in support of his contention, that Sidney, like Minturno, makes poets feign images of *virtues and vices*, not merely *actions*, as Aristotle does.

The remark is surprising because Spingarn did not point out any such thing, either in the passage quoted above, of which Smith's language is in turn an echo, or elsewhere in his *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, or, indeed, in any other discoverable work published either before or after the appearance of Smith's remark.

Furthermore, since Sidney's definition says nothing about actions, the statement imputed to Spingarn suggests strongly that Minturno said nothing about actions, which is certainly not the case. The entire passage from which Minturno's phrase has been taken reads:

Cum loquētē inducat pfectō neminē, ut solēt q res gestas, ut verisimile est geri potuisse, pturbatiōesq; ac mores narrādo exprimūt, quod maximē faciūt dithyrambici, Sūt cōtra, q ipsi qdē nihil pñūciēt, sed quorū aut uitia, aut uirtutes effigūt, actione ac pñūciatione eorū ipsorū simulata poema totū cōficiāt, ut Tragediarū, Comediarūq; scriptores.<sup>8</sup>

Minturno is speaking of the various methods of imitation (music, dancing, scenic effects, etc.), and in the passage in question he points out that some poets, especially dithyrambic poets, portray *res gestas*, *perturbationes*, and *mores* by merely reporting without the use of dialogue, whereas others, especially dramatists, feign virtues and vices by means of action and pronunciation. The passage is part of an extended discussion of the merits of dramatic representation as opposed to reporting,<sup>9</sup> and from it neither Sidney nor any other reader could properly infer that poetry was concerned with images of virtues and vices and not of actions.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 388.

<sup>8</sup> *De Poeta*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> The distinction is important in classical and neo-classical criticism. Plato, in *Republic*, III (392D-395E), insists that "imitation" is mere mimicry, and in many cases the mimicry of what is bad. Aristotle, on the other hand, taking up Plato's challenge, remarks: "The poet may imitate by narration—in which case he can either take another personality as Homer does, or speak in his own person, unchanged—or he may imitate by making all his actors live and move before us"; and answers it: "Homer, admirable in all

Similarly, other passages in Minturno reveal that actions are very much the material with which the poet works. To quote but a few phrases should be sufficient: "Effingunt sané qui imitantur eos ipsos qui agunt" (*ibid.*, 24); "actiones exprimere ac mores" (*ibid.*); "mores, motus animi, ipsas actiones effingunt";<sup>10</sup> "qui carminibus actiones hominū, Deorūmū effingūt" (*ibid.*); "actiones uelit, moresquē uerbis effingere" (*ibid.*, 39); "Neque enim est poesis hominum imitatio, sed actionis ac uitæ."<sup>11</sup>

That *An Apology for Poetry* owes a considerable debt to Minturno's *De Poeta* can hardly be denied, especially since the publication of Professor Myrick's investigations.<sup>12</sup> But no matter how convincing is the case for Sidney's having borrowed from Minturno, there are excellent reasons for asserting that the definition of poetry as the "fayning of notable images of virtues, vices, or what els" came from a more obvious source than the Italian bishop's treatise —Plato's *Republic*.<sup>13</sup>

respects, has the special merit of being the only poet who appreciates the part he should take himself. The poet in his own person should speak as little as possible; it is not this that makes him an imitator. Other poets appear themselves upon the scene throughout, and imitate but little and rarely. Homer, after a few prefatory words, at once brings in a man or woman, or other personage; none of them wanting in characteristic qualities, but each with a character of his own." *Poetics*, III, 1; XXIV, 7. S. H. Butcher, *The Poetics of Aristotle, Translated with a Critical Text* (London, 1895), 13, 89.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.—We have here Aristotle's *ἠθος*, *πάθη*, *πρᾶξις* and a clear contradiction of the statement that "Minturno makes poets feign images of *virtues* and *vices*, not merely *actions*, as Aristotle does."

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 109. I have quoted only phrases here, partly in the interest of brevity and partly because the phrases, as in the case of Smith's quotation, appear in contexts devoted to the poet's methods, not his material.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth O. Myrick, *Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). Mr. Myrick says that Spingarn has shown conclusively that Sidney borrowed from *De Poeta* (p. 87), but not content with that he adds new evidence of his own based on Sidney's allusions to Greek tragedy (99 ff.). He says nothing, however, about the source of Sidney's definition. Oddly enough, no one seems to have remarked that Minturno frequently disagrees with Plato, or has noticed a particularly significant marginal note, "Defendit Poetas a Platonicis" (*De Poeta*, p. 25), which may very well have given Sidney the alternative title to his essay.

<sup>13</sup> To revert for a moment to Smith's remark that Sidney's "images of virtues and vices" rather than actions suggests Minturno and not Aristotle, and also to anticipate slightly what follows, it is worth observing that Sidney does refer to actions elsewhere: "Whatsoever action, or faction, whatsoever counsell, policy, or warre strategem the Historian is bound to recite, that may the Poet (if he list) with his imitation make his own" (Smith, I, 169); and "For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy." (*Ibid.*, I, 179.) But Plato had anticipated Aristotle's "imitation of an action," for in *Republic*, X (603C) we read: "Now imitation imitates the action of man." It is true that Aristotle was named in Sidney's first definition ("imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *Mimesis*"), but that definition, with its emphasis upon counterfeiting, as in a "speaking picture," owes little to Aristotle. It owes more to Plutarch, or perhaps even to Plato, for in *Republic*, X (602) poetry is compared at great length with painting, and the same comparison runs through *An Apology for Poetry*.

That Sidney was closely acquainted with the *Republic* is everywhere conceded, and yet no one, including Cook<sup>14</sup> and Collins<sup>15</sup> as well as Spingarn and Smith, has referred to Plato's best known work as the source for the phrase, "that fayning of notable images of vertues and vices." Certainly the tenth book of the *Republic*, where much is said of images and virtues and vices, would seem a logical source for Sidney's second and more explicit definition of poetry.

One significant passage in this all-important tenth book is:

We hear persons saying that the tragedians, and Homer, who is at their head, know all the arts and all things human, virtue as well as vice, and divine things too.<sup>16</sup>

It may be noted here that Sidney does not say merely "images of virtues and vices," but adds, "or what else." Although Minturno did not limit the material of the poet to virtues and vices, as Smith's note implies, it is probable enough that Sidney's phrase "or what else" was suggested by Plato's "and all things divine."

But there is more in *Republic*, X, to prompt Sidney to add "or what else." Somewhat later in his essay he tells us that in poetry we behold:

All vertues, vices, and passions so in their naturall seates layd to the viewe, that wee seeme not to heare of them, but cleerely to see through them.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A. S. Cook, ed., *The Defense of Poesy* (Boston, 1890).

<sup>15</sup> J. Churton Collins, ed., *Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie* (Oxford, 1907).

<sup>16</sup> *Rep.*, 598D-E. For convenience I shall always quote the English translation of Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato* (Boston, 1878). But since Sidney probably was indebted to a Latin translation of the *Republic*, I shall append in every case the passage from Marsilio Ficino's version (*Omnia Divini Platonis Opera* [Venice, 1556]). Ficino's celebrated translation probably was the one that Sidney knew, and in this edition, for the next (Basel, 1581) was probably too late to have come into Sidney's hands before the writing of *An Apology for Poetry*. Ficino's translation of the passage quoted above is Nōne post hac tragediā discutere decet, ducemq; ipsius Homerū? postquā a nonnullis accepimus tragicos poetas artes intelligere, humanaq; omnia tam ad virtutem quam ad uitium pertinēta, necnon & diuina" (p. 449a-b).

<sup>17</sup> Smith, I, 166. Earlier Sidney had employed the same phrase: "The Morall Philosopher standeth vpon the naturall vertues, vices, and passions of men." (*Ibid.*, I, 156.) Similarly in his letter concerning history written to his brother Robert in 1580, we read: "A moral philosopher . . . sets forth virtues or vices and the nature of passions." *Correspondence*, W. A. Bradley, ed. (Boston, 1912), 221. Perhaps it is worth noting here that this latter statement is more nicely analytical than the others, in which virtues and vices and passions are made coördinate. In his attack on poetry, Plato insists that human actions are rational and intelligent, or irrational and passionate. These actions in turn will be either virtuous or vicious. Naturally Plato considers that irrational or passionate actions are likely to be vicious.

Certainly Plato has much to say concerning the passions, appetites, emotions, call them what we will. In fact one of his principal objections to poetry is that it is so greatly concerned with passionate and irrational action.<sup>18</sup> After asserting that :

Painting or drawing and imitation in general is remote from truth, and is the companion and friend and associate of a principle which is remote from reason,<sup>19</sup> [he adds:] and does not the latter—I mean the rebellious principle—furnish a great variety of materials for imitation? Whereas the wise and calm temperament, being always nearly equable, is not easy to imitate or to appreciate when imitated, especially at a theatre in which all sorts of men are gathered together. . . . Then the imitative poet is not by nature made, nor his art intended, to affect or please the rational principle in the soul, if his art is to be popular; but he will prefer the passionate and fitful temper which is easily imitated.<sup>20</sup>

The poet not only imitates passionate actions; he inspires similar passions in his hearers. Of the effect of tragic poetry, Plato says :

The best of us, as I conceive, when we listen to a passage of Homer, or one of the tragedians in which he represents some pitiful hero who is drawing out his sorrows in a long oration, or possibly singing, and smiting his breast,—the best of us, I say, as you know, delight in giving way to sympathy, and are in raptures at the excellence of the poet who stirs our feelings most.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Myrick, who seems rather too intent on Minturno's influence, great though that must have been, says that from the latter Sidney "took the idea of the moving power of poetry, an idea which, unlike the doctrine of the unities, is fundamental to his whole argument." (*Ibid.*, 90-91.) Fundamental it surely is, but for that very reason we are on a much sounder ground in deriving it from Plato, to whom it is also fundamental, rather than from Minturno, whose treatise is a compendium of not-too-well-digested ideas from many different sources. We might note especially: "Poetam bonū laudamus, qui adest nos vehementer moueat." *Rep.*, 605D (Ficino, 451b).

<sup>19</sup> *Rep.*, 603B. "Pictura & omnis imitandi facultas procul veritate posita suum opus exerceat : rursusq; cūm aliqua nostri parte, prudentiæ prorsus expertæ congregatur. (Ficino, 450b.)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 604E-605A. "Quod querulum est, imitationem plurimā ac variam suscipit. Prudentem verò pacatumq; morem semper sibi-ipsi similem, neq; facile possumus imitari : neq; si imitemur, facilè percipietur à turba, præsertim in theatrum varijs ex gentibus confluente. . . . Imitatio verò poetæ haud ad hoc intendit, vt huic animi naturæ sua sapientia placeat, si vulgo sit placitura, sed querulum animi morem variumq; obseruat, qui imitatione facilè possit effungi." (Ficino, 451a.)

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 605D-E. "Nónne & optimi quiq; nostrum cūm audimus Homerum, aut alium quēuis tragicum, qui heroum aliquem dolore afflictum, vociferantem, & querulis fortunam suam modulisi deflentem, & pectora pugnis percutientem imitetur, delectamur quodāmodò, inhiantesq; ad illa sequimur ea, vnaq; afficimur, ac serio studioseq; illum, vt poetam bonū laudamus, qui adest nos vehementer moueat?" (Ficino, 451b.)

And similarly of comic poetry. Indeed:

And the same may be said of lust and anger and all the other affections of desire and pain and pleasure which are held to be inseparable from every action,—in all of them poetry feeds and waters the passions instead of withering and starving them.<sup>22</sup>

From the foregoing it would seem clear that Plato had provided Sidney with sufficient reason to add passions to the virtues and vices that the poet imitates, but what of *images* and *fayning*, two other words that appear in Sidney's second definition? *Images*, though it appears in Minturno,<sup>23</sup> need not detain us long. Obviously if Sidney was familiar with Plato, he need not have borrowed the word from Minturno. Nevertheless, one passage from the *Republic* may be quoted:

Then must we not infer that all the poets, beginning with Homer, are only imitators; they copy images of virtue and the like, but the truth they never reach?<sup>24</sup>

Nor shall feigning delay us long. Quotations from Ficino's translation of the *Republic*, given above, in which *effingere* frequently appears, reveal the probable source of that word. With Sidney as with the majority of Renaissance critics, *μημονία*, whether of Aristotelian or Platonic origin, was not entirely satisfying because it seemed to imply mere copying. Following the lead of Plutarch, perhaps, whose *πλάσμα* is usually taken to mean what is feigned,<sup>25</sup> they frankly admitted that poetry should have only the semblance of truth, be *verisimile*. Poetry might well be a form of lying, but the evil lay only in the choice of words used by Plato to describe the poetic process, which might more properly be called an act of the creative imagination.

To devote so much space as here to the source of a couple of lines in Sidney's *Apology* would hardly be justified were it not that

<sup>22</sup> *Rep.*, 606D. "Idem quoq; de venere & iracundia dicimus, deq; oībus animi cupidibus affectibusq; tristibus & iucundis, quos in of actione insequuntur in superioribus diximus, & talia quadā poetiā imitationem in nobis effinger: Nutrit n. ista, dū fouet atq; irrigat, quæ potius ariditate extenuanda sint." (Ficino, 452a.)

<sup>23</sup> Smith refers us to *De Poeta*, 11: "Ita rerum imagines exprimant, ita mores effingant."

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 600E. "Ponamus igitur omnes ab Homero incipientes poeticos homines, virtutis imaginum imitores esse, ceterorumq; similiter quæcunq; canunt, veritatem verò nequaquam attingere." (Ficino, 450a.) "Cæterorumq; similiter quæcunq;" it may be noted in passing, is very suggestive of Sidney's "or what else."

<sup>25</sup> See *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry*, 17A. *Effingere*, *confingere*, and *figere* are found throughout the Latin criticism of the Renaissance. *Fingere* with its suggestion of deceit is highly reminiscent of Plato's charge that poets are liars.

the lines in question have immense significance. On one hand they contain a definition on which the entire essay is based and which was an important force in the literature and criticism of the ensuing century. On the other, as a corollary, they reveal clearly the controlling purpose that entered into the composition of Sidney's defense.<sup>26</sup>

Against whom and what was Sidney defending poetry, is a question frequently raised. Gosson and his *School of Abuse*, of course; and perhaps the entire body of Puritanical belief. One writer has devoted a whole chapter to the enemies of poetry in Sidney's day: "The Puritan Opposition," "The Rakehelly Rout," "The Incapable Multitude," "The Lack of Talent and of Patronage."<sup>27</sup> Not all of these are active opponents, but it can well be said that they were enemies nonetheless; and certainly Sidney's essay is an impassioned tribute to the dignity and worth of poetry that may well have been addressed to the incompetent and the indifferent. On the other hand, J. S. P. Tatlock, thinking of Sidney's continental journey, declares:

It is an acceptable belief that, except for Gosson and perhaps loose talkers, the cavillers in the back of Sidney's mind were Italians not English, ignorant friars rather than ignorant "Puritans." (*Op. cit.*, 77-8.)

Perhaps so, but a more acceptable belief, as Miss Samuel has argued, is that Sidney's defense was a defense against Plato.

The reader who has noted the passages from the *Republic* quoted above may well have observed that Sidney has borrowed ideas from Plato but has used them with opposite effect, to defend poetry rather than to attack it. Where Plato argued that poetry was but an inferior copy, Sidney retorted that the poets "to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be: but range, onely rayned with learned discretion, into the diuine consideration of what may be, and should be."<sup>28</sup> Where Plato charged that poets presented pictures of virtues and vices, but more especially vices and irrational actions which suggested similar conduct to the hearer, Sidney answered:

If the Poet doe his part a-right, he will shew you in *Tantalus*, *Atreus* and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned; in *Cyrus*,

<sup>26</sup> Miss Samuel quotes the lines in question, but principally as evidence of Sidney's acceptance of Plato's doctrine of universal patterns and not as a definition. (*Ibid.*, 386 and n. 20.)

<sup>27</sup> Guy Andrew Thompson, *Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914), 6-35.

<sup>28</sup> Smith, I, 159.

*Aeneas, Vlisses*, each thing to be followed;<sup>29</sup> [and] a fayned example hath asmuch force to teach as a true example (for as for to mooue, it is cleere, sith the fayned may bee tuned to the highest key of passion). (*Ibid.*, 169.)

And where Plato insisted that poets dabbled improperly in matters of state, warfare, and science, of which they knew only at second hand (599D), Sidney replied:

Whatsoeuer counsell, pollicy, or warre stratagem the Historian is bound to recite, that may the Poet (if he list) with his imitation make his own; beautifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting, as it pleaseth him: hauing all, from *Dante* his heauen to hys hell, vnder the authoritie of his penne. (*Ibid.*)

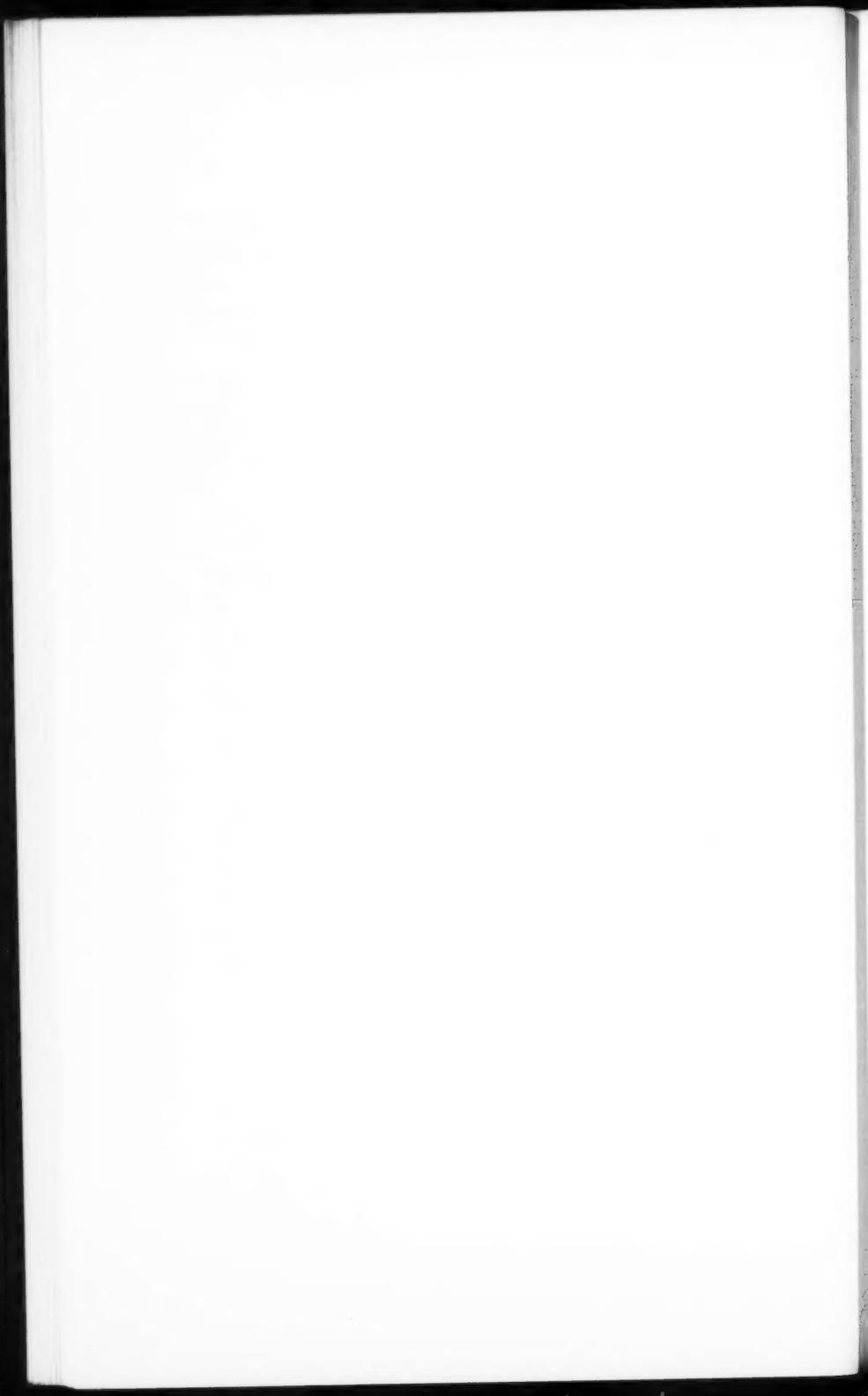
These examples, none of them cited by Miss Samuel, have been taken virtually at random, and the instances of Sidney's direct rebuttal of certain of Plato's pronouncements, such as the banishment of poets from the republic, have been omitted by intention. Nevertheless, what is here should serve to indicate clearly that *An Apology for Poetry* is instinct with and is informed by a desire to reply to what any lover of poetry must consider a perverse and wrong-headed attack.

It may be stated confidently, furthermore, that the eclecticism usually found in Sidney's essay is more apparent than real. He was eclectic as far as the Italian theorizers were concerned, but his fundamental principles were given to him by Plato himself.

Aristotle's *Poetics* is not a forensic composition, yet that it answers Plato's basic charges against poetry is evident. Much the same may be said of Plutarch's greatly maligned essay, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry*, and even, perhaps of Cicero's *De Oratore*, in which many of the arguments against poetry are reversed for the benefit of oratory. Sidney is another of a long line of apologists who accepted Plato's invitation to lovers of poetry "to speak in prose in her behalf" and who in doing so used their opponent's arguments for their own purpose.

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<sup>29</sup> Smith, I, 168. That these characters are images of vices and virtues is clear from: "See whether wisdome and temperance in *Vlisses* and *Diomedes*, valure in *Achilles*, friendship in *Nisus* and *Eurialus*, even to an ignoraut man carry not an apparent shyning [cf. Plato's ignorant mob in the theatre]: and, contrarily, the remorse of conscience in *Oedipus*, the soone repenting pride of *Agamemnon*, the self-deuouring crueltie in his father *Atreus*." (*Ibid.*, I, 165.)



## DANIEL'S *PHILOTAS* AND THE ESSEX CASE

By BRENTS STIRLING

This study is concerned with charges brought against Samuel Daniel, a few years after the trial and execution of the Earl of Essex. Daniel was accused of allegorical malpractice in using his tragedy *Philotas* to imply approval of Essex and disapproval of those active in Essex's prosecution: "A Daniel Come to Judgment" is the inescapable sub-title.

*Philotas* is a classical tragedy based upon accounts of the life of Alexander by Plutarch and Quintus Curtius, and Daniel makes acknowledgment to both of these writers in his prefatory argument. A synopsis of the play follows:

Philotas, a man valorous, vain-glorious and prodigal in the extreme, fails to heed his father's advice to "make himself less," and thus incurs the suspicion of Alexander, a suspicion aggravated by Philotas' popular following. Antigona, beloved of Philotas, who has heard him speak in contempt of Alexander, is led to reveal this by Craterus, Alexander's minister and adviser. Then, because of his failure to disclose a reported conspiracy against the life of his chief, Philotas is seized through Craterus' machinations and brought face to face with Alexander. The latter, however, impressed by Philotas' excuses, ostensibly pardons him. Yet, on the next day, Philotas is seized again, formally tried on charges of treason with Craterus as prosecutor, put to the torture, adjudged guilty, and executed. Throughout the play a chorus of three Greeks and a Persian comment upon the tragic fate of ambitious great men and the base motives of their equally powerful accusers.

### I

Daniel, like many a dramatist of his time, suffered what he calls "a wrong application and misconceiving" of his tragedy. In the *Apology*, apparently intended for the first printing of *Philotas* (1605),<sup>1</sup> appears his regret over this misunderstanding:

<sup>1</sup> A check of the editions of Daniel in the Huntington Library shows the *Apology* to have been printed for the first time in the 1623 edition of *Philotas*. Sellers, moreover (see note 7), does not list it as published prior to that date. There can be interesting conjecture over this document having been withheld from publication.

... for any resemblance, that thorough the ignorance of the History may be applied to the late Earle of Essex, it can hold in no proportion but only in his weaknesses, which I would wish all that love his memory not to revive.<sup>2</sup>

To those aware of the touchiness of the authorities to Essex allusions, both express and allegorical, no surprise comes from the long known fact that officialdom did connect Daniel's hero—divinely discontented, highly placed, popular and seditious—with the late rebellion. Daniel, in considerable agitation, apparently resorted to a familiar defense: his betters had approved his course, or at least they had not found fault with it. Thus we have the notable letter from Daniel to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, long since referred to in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and quoted in full by Grosart.<sup>3</sup> Daniel had cited Devonshire's tacit blessing upon the *Philotas* project, and Devonshire who had been uncomfortably associated with Essex, may well have turned angrily upon the defenceless author. Such is the clear implication of Daniel's pathetic letter to his erstwhile patron.

Daniel apparently was not given serious punishment,<sup>4</sup> and here the story has conventionally ended. In a volume of Salisbury papers issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1938, however, appears a letter addressed to Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranborne.<sup>5</sup> Far from being theretofore unknown, as the Historical Manuscripts Commission editor seems to imply,<sup>6</sup> it was published by Grosart as long ago as 1896, and was entered by Sellers in his bibliography of Daniel's works (1929).<sup>7</sup> Yet it has escaped attention as a significant document. Chambers makes no note of it,<sup>8</sup> and in two later books, R. B. Sharpe's *The Real War of the Theatres* (1935) and Eleanor Clarke's *Elizabethan Fustian* (1937), both much involved with political obliquity in the drama and both concerned with Essex repercussions, it is not quoted or cited. Following is the letter as Grosart gave it.

<sup>2</sup> As given by Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, p. 277. See also Grosart, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, III (London, 1885-1897), p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, p. 274. See also the account in *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of the MSS. of the Marquess of Salisbury*, Part XVII (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1938), p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xli.

<sup>7</sup> *A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Daniel, 1585-1623. With an Appendix of Daniel's Letters*. Oxford Bibliographical Society. *Proceedings and Papers*, II, Part I (1927). Oxford University Press (1928), pp. 29-54. The Cranborne letter appears on p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 275-6.

Right honorable my good L.

My necessitie I confess hath driven me to doo a thing unworthy of mee, and much against my harte, in making the stage the speaker of my lynes; w<sup>ch</sup> never hertofore had any other theater then the universall dominions of England w<sup>ch</sup> so long as it shall keepe the tongue it hath, will keepe my name and travayles from perishing. And for this tragedie of Philotas, wherein I sought to reduce the stage from idlenes to those grave presentments of antiquitie used by the wisest nations, I protest I have taken no other forme in personating the Actors that performed it then the very Idea of those tymes as they appeared unto mee both by the cast of the storie and the universall notions of the affayres of men; w<sup>ch</sup> in all ages beare the same resemblances, and are measured by one and the same foote of understanding. No tyme but brought forth the like currencies, the like interstriving for place and dignitie, the like supplantations, rysings and overthowes, so that there is nothing new under the sonne, nothing in theas tymes that is not in booke, nor in booke that is not in theas tymes. And therefore, good my Lord, let no misapplying wronge my innocent writing, w<sup>ch</sup> in respect of myne owne reputation, undertaking such a subject, I must not make frivilous, or unlike my stile, understanding the world and the probable course of those tymes. But yf it shall seeme skandalous to any by misconceiveing it, and your ho: be so pleased, I will finde the meanes to let it fall of it self, by withdrawing the booke and mee to my poore home, pretending some other occasion, so that the suppressing it by authoritie might not make the world to ymagin other matters in it then there is. Onely I would beseach my L: of Northampton and your ho: (seeing the tyme will yeald me no grace nor comfort and that my studies, my faculties are unnescessarie complimentis of the season) to bestow some small viaticum to carry me from the world, where I may bury my self, and my writings out of the way of envie, and live in some other kind, more agreeing to my harte and the nature of my studies, and where yf you will doo me good I will labour to doo you all the honour and service I may, and be most faythfully

Your honours in all humilitie,  
Samuel Danyel.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Grosart, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. lii-liv. In order to clarify the record, some chronological re-ordering is needed. Chambers places the *Apology* in the autumn of 1604, (*op. cit.*, p. 276); the date of the Devonshire letter is conjecturally fixed in the *Calendar of State Papers* as 1604. (S. P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 182.). The Cranborne letter bears a contemporary endorsement, "1605 Mr. Samuel Daniel to my Lord." (The ensuing problem is the same whether this is old or new style dating.) But in the Devonshire letter Daniel expressly writes of "having fully satisfide my L. of Cranborne," afeat which certainly, if performed at all, was performed after and not before the agitated letter to Cranborne was written. Hence the Devonshire document is subsequent to the latter and must be dated 1605 rather than 1604, n.s. (the C.S.P. date). But, then, did the *Apology* precede the two letters, as Chambers' date would require? If so, we have the interesting possibility of Daniel having

## II

Few minor literary men have left on record the completeness of self-portraiture which Daniel furnished during this tragi-comic period of his life. A naïve soul, not a writer of public drama, his sheltered career was jeopardized and his fear set mounting by the callow venture into *Philotas*. This is not to suggest that his agitation over loss of position and security was morbid, sentimental, or melodramatic. His reactions are those of a plain man who blunders into concentrated Star Chamber trouble. Out come repetitious defenses with a rush. In four different documents, the Cranborne letter, the Devonshire letter, the *Apology*, and the Epistle to Prince Henry,<sup>10</sup> Daniel tells us with ultimate tiresomeness that history repeats itself, that rebellion is a universal theme of tragedy. In two of them he uses, on this theme, almost identical phrasing. *Philotas*, he writes in the *Apology*, simply shows the "usual working of Ambition, the perpetuall subiects of booke and Tragedies." In the Devonshire letter he protests that *Philotas* contains nothing but the "universall notions of ambition and envie, the perpetuall arguments of books and tragedies." To this reiterated note he adds in three of the four documents the cumulative assurance that the affair would never have happened had he not been forced to vulgarize his talent by writing for the stage.<sup>11</sup>

It has been traditionally assumed that Daniel's agitation over *Philotas* came to a slow end following the flurry of 1604-1605. On the contrary, he exhibits concern once more. *Tethys Festival*, a masque, was performed in June, 1610, and published in that year.<sup>12</sup> Daniel, in his preface to the Reader, exhibits his wounds, unhealed

contrived a defence of himself prior to the actual trouble with Cranborne and Devonshire. Chambers' evidence is, however, that the *Apology* is to be placed in the fall of 1604 by its own data. Thus Daniel states in the *Apology* itself that he began writing *Philotas* "neere halfe a yeare" before the Essex rising (which would be *ca.* September, 1600) and that this time was "about four yeares since." Hence, as far as Daniel's own words in the *Apology* communicate anything literal to us, he did write it in the fall of 1604, and before the letters to Cecil and Devonshire. Chamber's use of internal evidence, however, is more literal than it probably would have been had he considered the consequences, mentioned above, of giving the *Apology* chronological priority over the two letters. If we interpret "about four yeares since" as meaning anything from four to about four and a half years back, the *Apology* could then be placed as subsequent to the letters, inasmuch as the lapse of a trifle more than four and a half years since the time "neere halfe a yeare" prior to the Essex rising would bring events to 1605. This at least is the interpretation which should be made until definite contrary evidence appears.

<sup>10</sup> Affixed to *Philotas*. Grosart, III, pp. 99-103.

<sup>11</sup> In fact, in the Devonshire letter Daniel declares that he had not at first intended to have his tragedy acted at all.

<sup>12</sup> See the title page, Grosart, III, p. 303.

after five years. Although his defense of himself doubtless concerns other matters, it is very likely that his special reference to "Apologies" indicates an emphasis upon *Philotas*. Even ignoring this probability, the passage is, to say the least, apposite.

And my long experience of the world, hath taught me this, that neufer Remonstrances nor Apologies could euer get ouer the stremme of opinion, to doe good on the other side, where contrarie affection and conceit had to doe: but onely serued to entertaine their owne partialnesse, who were fore-perswaded; and so was a labour in vaine. And it is oftentimes an argument of pusilanimitie, and may make *vt iudicium nostrum, metus videatur*, and render a good cause suspected, by too much labouring to defend it; which might be the reason that some of the late greatest Princes of Christendome would neufer haue their vndertakings made good by such courses, but with silence indured (and in a most wittie age) the greatest batterie of paper that could possibly be made.<sup>13</sup>

It seems needless to add that Daniel was not one of the "Princes of Christendome." But he did have dignity. No one familiar with dedicatory sycophancy incident to the times, or with certain contemporary expressions of abject innocence or recantation in connection with the Essex affair, can deny Daniel's comparative forthrightness and lack of hysteria. He may have mitigated these virtues with reiteration and something like a guilt complex, but he had them.

### III

Daniel has traditionally been found innocent of the Privy Council charges. In Grosart's Introduction<sup>14</sup> and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*<sup>15</sup> they are deemed unproved. Other authorities such as Chambers<sup>16</sup> are silent. Part of this attitude springs from decorum, part from caution, and part from a failure to correlate what is known about Daniel with the *Philotas* incident. I construct the rather amusing case against Daniel as follows:

1. It is established that history, classical as well as English, narrative as well as dramatic, quite commonly was construed in Daniel's time as having contemporary application.<sup>17</sup> Only a very innocent dramatist would have so paralleled the Essex story in a play based upon Alexander's time, and not have expected his audience

<sup>13</sup> Grosart, III, p. 306.

<sup>14</sup> I, p. xxii.

<sup>15</sup> Sir Sidney Lee's account.

<sup>16</sup> *The Elizabethan Stage*, pp. 272-6.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Lily B. Campbell, "The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (1938), 135-167; Louis B. Wright "The Elizabethan Middle Class Taste for History," *Journal of Modern History*, III (1931), pp. 176-88.

eagerly to seek a covert meaning. If Daniel had been a public playwright like Jonson, he would necessarily have foreseen the topical interpretation of *Philotas*. But since he was not such a playwright, can he be held innocent of anticipating that interpretation? His own works tend to convict him here. There was not a more consistent Elizabethan writer of history for the purpose of holding a mirror up to the then present than the Samuel Daniel of *The Civil Wars*. For an elaboration of Daniel's point of view one should consult the complete "Epistle Dedicatore" to *The Civil Wars*; especially applicable, however, is the following:

And whereas this argument was long since undertaken (in a time which was not so well secur'd of the future, as God be blessed now it is) with a purpose to show the deformities of Civile Dissension, and the miserable events of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and bloudy Revengements which followed (as in a circle) upon that breach of the true course of Succession, by the Usurpation of Hen. 4; and thereby to make the blessing of Peace, and the happinesse of an established Government (in a direct Line) the better to appeare: I trust I shall doo a grateful worke to my Countrie to continue the same. . . .<sup>18</sup>

And closely following these lines, which declare *The Civil Wars* to have topical meaning, is a statement of the very principle which Daniel used in the Cranborne and Devonshire letters to prove that *Philotas* did not have topical meaning.

And although many of these Images are drawne with the pencil of mine owne conceiving: [yet] I see, Ambition, Faction, and Affections, speake ever one Language . . . and only vary but in time.<sup>19</sup>

The two quotations above thus express the purpose of *The Civil Wars* as it is revealed in the "Epistle Dedicatore." Nothing could controvert more clearly Daniel's plea in the letters to Cranborne and Devonshire, that since all ages are the same, it is but an illusion that historical subjects mirror the present. History must repeat itself; it is therefore a real commentary upon present times, equivocates Daniel writing of the rebel Henry Bolingbroke. History must

<sup>18</sup> Grosart, II, p. 6, lines 22-32. The "Epistle Dedicatore" appears first in the 1609 edition. Daniel perpetuates this attitude in the dedication of *The Collection of the History of England* (1612) to Viscount Rochester (Grosart, IV, pp. 75-8):

And this I addresse to you, my noble Lord . . . in respect you being now a publick person . . . You may here learne, by the observance of affaires past . . . to judge the righter of things present (p. 77).

<sup>19</sup> "Epistle Dedicatore," Grosart, II, p. 7, lines 63-66. The parallel passages in the letters to Cranborne and Devonshire may be noted above.

repeat itself; it is therefore but a seeming commentary upon present times, equivocates Daniel writing of the rebel Philotas. Daniel's main defense of himself in the *Philotas* case is thus based upon a principle directly opposite to that emphatically stated in the introduction to his main historical work. Certainly, the point of view expressed in this dedicatory epistle is inconsistent with any genuine surprise on Daniel's part at the "wrong application and misconceiving" of his play.

It is perhaps worth remarking here that Daniel knew Fulke Greville and dedicated to him his *Musophilus*, a "defence of all learning." Professor Heffner once called my attention to an account by Greville of his tragedy on the subject of Cleopatra, which he withheld at the time of Essex's descent because of the public tendency to read Essex allegory into such drama.<sup>20</sup> If Greville felt this way about potential interpretation of the Cleopatra material, is it likely that Daniel, who knew him and the same public, would honestly have felt otherwise toward the much more parallel Philotas subject?

2. At least a motive is provided for Daniel's alleged action by the fact that he was linked closely with the main Essex adherents. On the release of the Earl of Southampton, Daniel addressed to him a poem expressing profound sympathy and admiration.<sup>21</sup> Another well-known Essex supporter was, of course, Daniel's patron, the Earl of Devonshire, to whom one of the letters previously discussed is addressed.

3. Daniel's elaborate excuses are designed to cover a series of events, the chronology of which is suspicious. In the *Apology* he writes that he commenced *Philotas* some months prior to the Essex rising, and that a short while later, because of pressure from publication of other works, he "intermittend" the subject. There was never a time when material bestowing sympathy upon Essex could have been "intermittend" more understandably than just then. Daniel knew this well, for at about this time he excised from the 1601 edition of *The Civil Wars* two innocuous stanzas in praise of Essex.<sup>22</sup> Four years later, Daniel continues, he finished and produced the tragedy. Need for money is the assigned reason. But, again, there was never a time more opportune for finishing a play covertly favorable to Essex. The subject was still warm, the remaining con-

<sup>20</sup> *The Life of the Renowned Sr. Philip Sidney*. In Grosart's edition of *The Works of Lord Brooke*, IV, p. 155.

<sup>21</sup> Grosart, I, p. 218.

<sup>22</sup> Grosart, II, pp. 97-9. I have had Grosart checked with the Huntington Library copy. The stanzas are 126 and 127 which, on p. 99, Grosart designates as missing in the 1601 folio.

spirators had been released, and sympathy for the late rebel was beginning to show itself publicly again. As a matter of probability, it is doubtful whether at this time Daniel would have been interfered with had not parts of the play, mainly choruses, been easily construable as attacks on Cecil himself. Of that, more in the next section.

4. Not only does the play parallel the Essex affair in essentials; it does so in significant ways not present in Daniel's sources, Plutarch and Quintus Curtius.<sup>23</sup> That in his classical sources Daniel found Philotas a ready-made Essex—a great captain, tragically ambitious, tragically tactless, and tragically popular—is one set of circumstances. That Daniel embroidered the sources to make the parallel much closer is another. Following, are the more telling ways in which he did this.

In the play, Philotas, like Essex, is formally arraigned and legally tried, with Craterus and Ephestion, Alexander's advisers, as prosecutors.<sup>24</sup> In the sources, these formalities parallel to Essex's prosecution are lacking. Moreover, Daniel is not content to add a formal arraignment and trial and thus parallel the case of Essex, but he must underline the change. At the start of Act V the Persian in the chorus declares,

your prince  
Proceeds by forme of law t'effect his end;  
Our Persian monarch . . . . . his sword the processe ends,  
He never standes to give a glosse unto  
His violence . . . . .  
What need hath Alexander so to strive  
By all these shewes of forme, to find this man  
Guilty of treason, when he doth contrive  
To have him so adiudg'd.<sup>25</sup>

This odd Persian has been active shortly before in choral interpretation, and one might suspect double meaning when he talks of shameful machinations against great men being the same in Persia as in Greece. But when he enlarges on the mockery of formal trial, as here, the Essex allusion begins to be cogent.

<sup>23</sup> See Daniel's references in the *Argument* to the accounts of Alexander in Plutarch and in Quintus Curtius, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni*, Book VI (Grosart, III, pp. 104-106). A more exact reference to Quintus Curtius, the main source, is Book VI, chs. 7-11. A convenient translation is *Quintus Curtius His History of the Wars of Alexander*, Translated by John Digby, Esq., London, 1727.

<sup>24</sup> Act IV, Scene 2. Grosart, III, 149 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Grosart, III, p. 66.

The choruses also are revealing. Craterus is a self-serving hypocrite throughout the play, thus paralleling perfectly the opinion held by Essex supporters of the queen's ministers active in the prosecution. Perhaps Cecil, now Viscount Cranborne, would have paid little attention to this, since he might not have known that it was the dramatist's own emphasis. But when and if he learned of the choruses, we may conjecture that there was not much delay in sending for Samuel Daniel. The chorus at the end of Act III, in perfect keeping with pro-Essex claims against Cecil and others, begins thus:

See how these great men cloath their private hate  
 In those faire colours of the public good;  
 And to effect their ends, pretend the State,  
 As if the State by their affections stood:  
 And arm'd with pow'r and Princes' jealousies,  
 Will put the least conceit of discontent  
 Into the greatest ranke of treacheries.<sup>26</sup>

There is more of the same—abstract, gratuitous editorializing upon a set of events already startlingly similar to Essex's fall. It is here, most likely, that Cecil rose in judgment.

Further significance may attach to the fact that in Daniel's classical sources the entire action takes place in an encampment, Alexander's army being on expedition. Daniel, however, changes the locale to the court,<sup>27</sup> thus much more closely paralleling the Essex case.

<sup>26</sup> Grosart, III, pp. 144-5.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Act IV, Scene 1, lines 1176 and 1192 (Grosart, III, p. 146). See especially the beginning of Act V, Scene 2 (*ibid.*, p. 169), for a passage which not only alludes to the court but describes perfectly the state of the court on the occasion of the Essex trouble:

*Polidamus*

Friend Sostratus, come, have you ever know'n  
 Such a distracted face of Court, as now?  
 Such a distrustful eye, as men are grow'n  
 To feare themselves, and all; and do not know  
 Where is the side that shakes not; who looks best  
 In this foule day, the oppressor or th'opprest?  
 What posting, what dispatches, what advice!  
 What search, what running, what discoueries!  
 What rumors, what suggestions what device  
 To cleere the King, please people, hold the wise,  
 Retaine the rude, crush the suspected sort  
 At unawares, ere they discerne th'are hurt!  
 So much the fall of such a weighty Peere  
 Doth shake the State, and with him tumble downe  
 All whom his beames of fauours did upbear.

Professor Heffner cited this passage in connection with an account of some Essex allusions within the play. His problem, however, did not include the present question of Daniel's manipulation of sources, or the problem of Daniel's intent to represent Essex's downfall. Heffner's account is in his doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins Library, 1926.

Again, one of the most familiar criticisms against the Earl of Essex was that he attracted to his cause malcontents of all types, Papist and Puritan alike. The following, from one of Craterus' forensic blasts does not describe the Philotas of Daniel's classical sources; it does, however, fit neatly and completely the reputation of Essex:

We know those streams of ill  
Flow'd from that head that fed them with conceit.  
You foster malecontents; you entertaine  
All humors; you all factions must embrace:  
  
You must promise mountaines, and you draw men on.<sup>28</sup>

5. There is strong evidence of Daniel "covering up" in a none too convincing way. The following are manifestations of this.

It has been seen that in the play Craterus and Ephestion are contemptible conspirators against the rather misjudged Philotas, and that the chorus justly accuses them of clothing their private hate with ostensible motives of public good. Yet in the *Apology* what do we find?

Which Philotas' plot being by *Ephestion* and *Craterus*, two of the most grave and worthy councillors of Alexander proudly discerned, was prosecuted in that manner, as became their neernes and deerenesse with their Lord and Maister, and fitting the safety of the State, in the case of so great an aspirer: who, had he not beene preuented . . . he had no doubt turned the course of the government upon his father or himselfe, or else imbroiling it, made it a monstrous body with many heads. . . . And *Craterus* who so wisely pursued this businesse, is deemed to have beene one of the most honest men that ever followed Alexander.<sup>29</sup>

Surely some entertainment lies in speculating upon Cecil's reactions, if he ever read the play, to its unflattering portraits of Craterus and Ephestion. An equal amount of recreation can come from picturing his later responses, if he ever read the *Argument* and *Apology*, to Daniel's white-washing of the pair he had so blackened in the play itself.

Daniel apparently employed a second device for self-protection. The chorus exhibits throughout the play a dignified sympathy

<sup>28</sup> Act IV, Scene 2, lines 1570-1576. Grosart, III, p. 159.

<sup>29</sup> Grosart, III, pp. 180-181. See also the same declaration, almost word for word in the *Argument*. Grosart, III, p. 105. The *Apology* was written, of course, after the play had caused trouble. Because of such verbal parallels between it and the *Argument* and because of inconsistencies which will be pointed out between the *Argument* and the play itself, I suggest that the *Argument* also appeared for the first time after Daniel had been in difficulties.

for Philotas and righteous antagonism toward Craterus. Yet upon publication of *Philotas*, Daniel repudiates his ostensibly just choral spokesmen. In the *Argument*, he describes our philosophical Persian of the chorus as

representing the multitude and body of a People, who vulgarly (according to their affections, carried rather with compassion on Great-men's misfortunes, then with the consideration of the cause) frame their imaginations by that square, and censure what is done.<sup>30</sup>

Now this may be a description of the Persian, but if it is, it extends also to the rest of the chorus who are in agreement with him in criticizing Craterus and the persecutors of Philotas.<sup>31</sup> There is nothing whatever about the Persian in the play to identify him with a thoughtless populace. That Daniel, on publication of the tragedy, should seek to explain in a preface that his Oriental is a spokesman for the crowd only, may be more protective than clever.

Further, and rather strangely, at the conclusion of Act I the entire chorus refers to itself momentarily as the "chorus of the vulgar." Yet in the argument Daniel has told us that it is composed of "three *Graecians* (as of three estates of a Kingdome)," with only the Persian representing the multitude. Daniel seems thoroughly confused in the process of palming off responsibility for sedition first on one part of the chorus and then another. One thing is certain: the chorus's dignified judgments are so true and fit the facts of the play so well, that if Daniel actually means the chorus, or part of it, to represent the mass mind, he automatically puts himself in the position of showing that the mass attitude is absolutely sound. Such an implication would be as insulting to the authorities and as diverting to us as any other.

All this, it would seem, implies some abrupt shifting of ground after the play caused trouble. If an Elizabethan dramatist ever makes the multitude the spokesman of sound political opinion, we become curious about the reason. If we assume that Daniel's chorus was first intended to represent all classes and to speak truly, and was called a "chorus of the vulgar" only after its opinions had become offensive to the authorities, I think we have the answer. Certainly some changes within the play itself were necessary to make *Philotas* suitable for publication so soon after it had been found objectionable.

<sup>30</sup> See also the following in the Epistle to Prince Henry:

Here shall you see how th'easie multitude  
Transported takes the partie of distresse.  
(Lines 20-21. Grosart, II, p. 100.)

<sup>31</sup> See the end of Act III.

6. As a concluding point it may be added that no circumstantial evidence attests Daniel's innocence. We have only his word for that. And on that score we may be tempted to say that in the *Apology*, the epistle to Prince Henry, the two letters, and the dedication to *Tethys Festival*, he remonstrates more than a little too much.

Such is the case against Daniel's various pleas of innocence and such, too, is the picture of a dramatist under pressure of official suspicion. There have been two main aims in the discussion just completed: first, to draw from the play itself and from other documents, noticed and hitherto unnoticed, an adequate sketch of the *Philotas* incident, together with its revelation of Daniel's character, and secondly, to provide and analyze evidence concerning Daniel's seditious intent. A more inclusive purpose, however, has been that of rounding out the record of a court dramatist working in the framework of the Essex incident, the seeming demand for political allusion, and the censor.

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## ANOTHER PLAY BY JOHN FORD

By G. F. SENSABAUGH

Professor Alfred Harbage, in a recent disclosure of apparent Restoration pilfering,<sup>1</sup> assigns to John Ford Sir Robert Howard's *The Great Favourite, or The Duke of Lerma*, which, produced and published in 1668, surprised critics for excellence far above Sir Robert's usual performances. Convinced that the play is a close adaptation, which Sir Robert Howard himself also suggests, Professor Harbage argues that the play was reworked from a Moseley manuscript, *The Spanish Duke of Lerma*, attributed to Henry Shirley, but that since Henry Shirley was a notoriously poor playwright and this play a good one, the real author must be John Ford, whose touch appears in plot materials, characters, and style. All the qualities of Ford's narrow yet intense genius appear: the plot revolves about a chaste, beautiful woman exposed to moral danger which momentarily blackens her honor but from which she emerges wholly pure; heroes and heroines kneel, weep, display alternating moods, and exhibit psychological complexities; the style shows Ford's habit of mind in repetition of phrases, such as speaking of vice as *disease* or *infection*. In fine, writes Professor Harbage, the "admirers of John Ford have another play to read."

Now for ten years John Ford has been my constant companion, his voice becoming as familiar as that of an old friend's; and when I read *The Great Favourite* authentic accents fell on my ears. Here, in a court troubled by great intrigue and matters of state, love commands central attention, inamorato's sighs and moans filling the air and chaste beauty crying aloud to preserve honor apparently sullied; and though Ford's voice at times seems to be muffled, particularly when Sir Robert forces him to speak through heroic couplets, genuine tones ring through the entire play. Yet the ear sometimes deceives; and notes, which call out more accurate tones, must needs be also assembled as further evidence that *The Great Favourite* came from the pen of John Ford.

Two sources largely shaped Ford's independent drama: Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*<sup>2</sup> and Henrietta Maria's platonic love

<sup>1</sup> "Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest," *MLR*, XXXV, 287-319.

<sup>2</sup> See especially S. Blaine Ewing, *Burtonian Melancholy in the Plays of John Ford* (Princeton, 1940), *passim*; G. F. Sensabaugh, "Burton's Influence on Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy*," *SP*, XXXIII, 545-71; *idem*, "Ford's Tragedy of Love-Melancholy," *Englische Studien*, Band 73, Heft 2, 212-9. All subsequent evidence concerning Ford's dependence on Burton may be found in these studies.

cult in court.<sup>3</sup> From 1628 to 1638, the period of Ford's independent dramatic achievements, Ford leaned heavily upon whole sections of Burton's treatise of melancholic diseases, culling from it conceptions for character and formulas for plot structure, all of which he so thoroughly absorbed that his heroes and heroines suffer from specific diseases, displaying clear symptoms and running courses of cure or destruction. During the same period, Ford joyously embraced practices, tenets, and ethics of the Queen's love cult in court, where beauty in woman commanded worship and awe, and love and passion became life's highest good condoning any action or thought. From this dual influence arose a unique drama, organically fusing Burton's medical realism with oblique idealism in court; and should this same fusion appear in *The Great Favourite* its authorship should be clinched beyond reasonable doubt.

Burton's formula, generally stated, may be put thus: from many causes man contracts melancholy, whose symptoms, both physical and mental, clearly appear; if diagnosed in time, proper treatment may bring about cure; if unattended, death and destruction inevitably follow. And the remarkable thing about this scheme, according to seventeenth-century science, is that disease may be caused by known objects and cured by proper mechanistic treatment, as simple as pouring or emptying water from a bowl—a formula which Ford definitely employed in his treatment of character and plot. Palador, for example, in *The Lover's Melancholy*, suffers from disease because beautiful Eroclea, his lover, has been snatched from his presence; consequently he sighs, groans, seeks solitude, and neglects affairs of state, displaying symptoms as Burton described them. But when Rhetias, a court friend, restores Eroclea to him, disease drops from his shoulders as he murmurs "Come home, home to my heart, thou *banisht peace*,"<sup>4</sup> and completely cured he later orders preparations for marriage. Fernando, however, in *Love's Sacrifice*, is not nearly so fortunate. Biancha, wife of the Duke of Caraffa, possesses beauty so rare that she arouses in Fernando, the Duke's erstwhile friend, passions of love-melancholy, which, prognosticating trouble because convention forbids proper treatment, forces Fernando to tear his hair and beat his breast in "*plaine passion*," eventually bringing death to himself and to others.<sup>5</sup> What is important is that Ford manipulates these two heroes, as indeed he shapes all

<sup>3</sup> See G. F. Sensabaugh, "John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court," *SP*, XXXVI, 206-26. All subsequent evidence concerning Ford's relation to the court may be found in this article.

<sup>4</sup> *The Lover's Melancholy*, 2198, in *John Fordes Dramatische Werke* (ed. W. Bang), Louvain, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> *Love's Sacrifice*, 880, in Bang, *op. cit.*

his *dramatis personae*, curing Palador and killing Fernando by mechanistic, Burtonian formula.

This same mechanistic approach to character and plot structure appears in *The Great Favourite*. The Duke of Lerma, exiled by the old, dying king, wishes to retain his power by getting control of the young king, which he proposes to do by parading his beautiful daughter Maria before him so as to arouse the passion of love. Once captivated by beauty, the young king will be under Lerma's thumb, by which control Lerma intends to retain his position and thwart the designs of his enemies. With Burtonian understanding of passion, he undertakes this difficult task, first sifting the young king through his friend, the Confessor, who almost immediately returns to report that the patient's passions are susceptible to love:

In his soft nature love's prepared to grow,  
When fair Maria's eyes their sunbeams show.<sup>6</sup>

Lerma then conducts Maria to the king, who is at once smitten by her beauty exactly as Lerma had planned; and shortly, reminiscent of Palador and Fernando, symptoms of love-melancholy appear. D'Alva, a Duke in the court, observes that "fatal sadness like a sullen cloud/Hangs on his growing brightness!" (p. 232) and even the king himself recognizes that, like a disease, love has stricken him down:

O what a traitor is my love  
That thus unthrones me! I am no longer king  
Of anything but sorrows, and my griefs  
Have but a half-obedience. They will stay,  
But would not go, should I command 'em from me.  
I see the errors that I would avoid  
And have my reason still, but not the use on't.  
It hangs about me like a withered limb  
Bound up and numbed by some disease's frost—  
The form the same, but all the use is lost. (Pp. 232-3.)

As the king's disease continues to grow, much to the consternation of his counsellors, who are Lerma's enemies, Medina, Maria's uncle, offers to prescribe remedies, which he hopes will cure the king and prevent his disease from spreading through the whole nation; let me, he says,

prescribe such wholesome medicines to you  
That should prevent this great distemper  
Growing on you and all the nation. (P. 235.)

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<sup>6</sup> D. D. Arundell (ed.), *Dryden & Howard 1664-1668* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 224.

Somewhat later, the Queen mother reports further symptoms of love-melancholy: "he lately seeks / Retirements from his friends"; "A fatal sadness grows upon his youth" (p. 239)—a sadness which so grips him that, in Medina's words, the king loses all enthusiasm for government, neglecting his duties and allowing his people to go widowed (pp. 244-5). Then, in the last act, when conspirators hide Maria away leaving the king desolate, in a melancholy rage he demands that she be restored to his sight, bringing anathemas down upon those trying to be tyrant over his "affections" (p. 274); and, after Maria's return, he winds up the play on a note of joy that he soon may encompass her, yet bans all merry-making in court until his disease may be cured:

Let all that love me in my troubles join,  
And let their griefs allegiance pay to mine.  
Let not a smile upon a face be seen,  
Till fair Maria yields to be my queen. (P. 280.)

Incidentally, Lerma retains his power by resorting to trickery; but of importance is that *The Great Favourite* embodies Burton's method and formula almost exactly as it appears in *The Lover's Melancholy* and that in their prognostics and symptoms the young king and Prince Palador claim very close kin.

Definite as is Burton's formula, evidence of Henrietta Maria's platonic love cult emerges even more clear. From beginning to end, the play sings a troubadour's song, sounding variant but main notes upon love, passion, and beauty. Like Eroclea, Marie walks dumb in her beauty, worshipped by young princes and kings; like Annabella, in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, she possesses perfections beyond all compare; like Biancha, in *Love's Sacrifice*, she appears guilty of illicit physical love yet remains pure as driven snow; and like Palador, Giovanni, and Fernando, the young king kneels before Maria's perfections in awed worship, devout before the goddess of love. Some of the cult's main tenets and practices, which appear again and again in Ford's plays, may be put thus:

1. Beauty and goodness are one and the same.
2. Love is all-important and all-powerful.
3. Beauty in woman should be worshipped.

Further analysis will show how closely the author of *The Great Favourite* followed these romantic ideas.

*Beauty and goodness are one and the same.* One of the main tenets of the coterie, and indeed one of Ford's fundamental beliefs, arose from the platonic conception that beauty and goodness are one and the same. What is fair outwardly must also be good, court

Platonists argued with sophistical skill; and conversely whatever is good must also be fair. Consequently, in order to insure Maria's purity and virtue, the author of *The Great Favourite* repeatedly points out her beauty. Look at "That Fair lady. / Is she not wondrous fair?" (p. 227) asks the king, when Maria first steps into view; and from then on lines never lack to describe her perfections, both physical and moral. Suspecting Maria of unchastity, Medina laments that she could be "not so chaste as fair" (p. 257), and finding it difficult to believe that so much virtue could reside in so much beauty, the king exults in discovering such a rare combination (p. 263); yet Maria knows she is both chaste and fair (pp. 226, 260, 261) and D'Alva commends her for her virtue which goes "Beyond all story" (pp. 274-5), dispelling the cloud of suspicion which earlier enveloped her by calling her a "Fair virtuous maid" (p. 279). At the end of the play, with doubt fully allayed, all clearly see that Maria could not be other than pure, for could sin dwell in such a temple of beauty? Ford believed that sin and beauty could not live together; and so *The Great Favourite's* author thought also.

*Love is all-important and all-powerful.* One of the most romantic beliefs Ford found in the court was that love conquers all, a medieval courtly-love thought which Ford trumpeted through all his serious drama. The author of *The Great Favourite* became enamoured of this idea also. Lerma, worried lest the king banish him from court, finds some hope of clemency when he observes how Maria's eyes "Arrested all his anger at love's suit" (p. 229), thereby disclosing a power which even the king, in his love-smitten state, pauses to recognize publicly as he softens before Maria's irresistible charms:

Come, Maria,  
At thy fair sight my blushing anger shrinks,  
As if some angel from above descended  
Whose powerful vision made all passions cease  
But only love still waited on by peace. (P. 237.)

Later, Lerma's enemies, fearing that they may be banished because of Maria's power over the king, recognize in terror that "Those beauteous charms that have subdu'd the King" (p. 239) may spell doom for them, apparently resigning themselves helplessly before love's awful sway. All through the play, in fact, love assumes sovereign power, becoming as the plot slowly unfolds much more important than Lerma's intrigue itself; truly man's greatest interest, the author seems to state clearly, lies in affairs of the heart.

*Beauty in woman should be worshipped.* In Henrietta Maria's court coterie, beauty asked for and received devout worship, a ritual

practiced daily if court drama reports true; and of such worship Ford thoroughly approved. No lover could spend too much time adoring his beauteous saint; no saint could exact too much devotion from her beloved servant. As a result Ford's plays abound in devotional jargon, praising physical perfection and burning incense before beautiful women possibly with even more awe than votaries in court; and this same jargon of worship appears in *The Great Favourite*. In terms strongly reminiscent of Giovanni's, as he argues with Friar Bonaventura that he should adore his own sister, Lerma describes to his Confessor, in words smacking of incest, his own daughter's perfections which beg for devotion:

Tell me, holy father, is it idolatry  
To pay devotion to those glorious eyes  
And call them lights divine? They are my stars,  
Since their bright influence must direct my fate. (P. 255.)

Later, thinking the king too slack in his love by not searching for her, he breaks into pæans of praise in demanding that Maria be worshipped:

She cannot be concealed. She is too glorious.  
Had she been coupled with some rough-hewn slave,  
Her language would have played upon his soul  
And charmed him to a dotage. If she had grieved,  
Like an idolator he would have gathered  
Her tears upon his knees for sacred relics. (P. 268.)

But the king, despite Lerma's forebodings, has paid his due worship before the altar of Maria's beauty and love, becoming actually ill because his love has not yet been requited; and nothing irritates him more than to see her in a position not befitting a goddess. For when he observes her kneeling in tears, asking mercy from intrigues not of her making, he exclaims angrily:

Maria on her knees?  
Dare they suffer her to kneel  
To whom I bow? (P. 278.)

This speaks like the master of passion and worship of beauty himself, not his echo; in language, cadence, and thought these lines sound authentic.

Ford's intense genius seems to glow through most of *The Great Favourite*, fusing Burton's medical realism and oblique court idealism to produce situations truly unique. Far different from courtly Caroline drama, in which heroes and heroines move amid sorrows remote, or from Restoration plays of intrigue, in which Henrietta

Maria's love code receives pointed and brisk satire.<sup>7</sup> *The Great Favourite*, like Ford's plays, treats with medical seriousness romantic affairs of the heart, supporting with Burtonian formula the Queen's ideals of worship of beauty and love. This unique Fordian stamp, impressed clearly on Sir Robert Howard's unusual play of 1668, argues strongly that Sir Robert recast very slightly an old manuscript play of John Ford's.

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<sup>7</sup> Kathleen M. Lynch, *The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy* (New York, 1926), *passim*.



## JOHN DONNE AND THE EARL OF ESSEX

By R. E. BENNETT

Walton's statement that John Donne "waited upon" the Earl of Essex on both the Cadiz expedition (1596) and the Islands Voyage (1597)<sup>1</sup> is at least half wrong, for on the Islands Voyage Donne was with Lord Thomas Howard's squadron, as we may infer from his letter from Plymouth (*ca.* August 9, 1597), where he says that he has experienced twenty days of very bad weather and "seen y<sup>e</sup> land of promise spaine whether wee shall enter or no I guess not."<sup>2</sup> Most of Essex's and Raleigh's ships had put in at Plymouth or Falmouth by July 19, nine days after they sailed, without having sighted Spain; but Lord Thomas Howard's squadron had parted company with Essex during the night of July 15/16, and had proceeded to the North Cape, whence it cruised for several days within sight of the enemy. It reached Plymouth on July 31, after twenty-one days at sea.<sup>3</sup>

There is other evidence that Essex was not Donne's only influential friend during his early years. The epigram, *Cadiz and Guiana*,<sup>4</sup> was probably addressed to Raleigh's followers in 1596 or 1597. Likewise, in a letter<sup>5</sup> of about the same period to Rowland Woodward, Donne refers very sympathetically to the Guiana project, which was peculiarly Raleigh's, whereas Essex was more interested in raiding the coast of Spain. On November 16, 1597, one of Essex's

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of John Donne*, ed. T. E. Tomlins (London, 1852), pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 284-85. This letter must have been written on or near the same day as the verse letter, *The Storm*. The other verse letter, *The Calm*, is more difficult to date, but it may have been composed about the situation on or near September 1, 1597, when part of the fleet was off the coast of Spain and in imminent danger of attack from the Spaniards. With reference to the naval situation during the calm, it is worthy of remark that the textual evidence strongly favors the following reading in lines 35-38:

Now, as a myriad  
Of ants durst th' emperor's lov'd snake invade,  
The crawling galleys, sea jails, finny chips,  
Might brave our Venices, now bedrid ships.

Sir Herbert Grierson's emendation of *Venices* to *Pinnaces*, moreover, destroys the effect of the figure of the ants and the snake, since galleys were larger than pinnaces. Donne meant by Venices, ships of great size, as motionless in the sea as the city of Venice. See *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. R. E. Bennett (Chicago, 1942), pp. 144-45.

<sup>3</sup> G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex* (New York, 1937), pp. 144 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Complete Poems*, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> "If, as mine is, thy life a slumber be," *Complete Poems*, p. 146, lines 18-26.

advisers wrote to the Earl that only he and his deputies could command "any service of worth," excepting "some long spoken of Guiana voyage, and other such like India piracies."<sup>6</sup> At this time Donne was clearly on the side of Raleigh and the "India piracies," for he wrote in the letter to Woodward:

Guiana's harvest is nipp'd in the spring,  
I fear, and with us, methinks, Fate deals so  
As with the Jew's guide God did: He did show  
Him the rich land, but barr'd his entry in.  
O, slowness is our punishment and sin.  
Perchance, these Spanish business being done  
(Which, as the earth between the moon and sun,  
Eclipse the light which Guiana would give),  
Our discontinu'd hopes we shall retrieve.

About four years later, after Donne's marriage in December, 1601, it was Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland whom Donne selected to break the news to his difficult father-in-law, Sir George Moore. Northumberland had quarrelled with Essex in 1597, and in 1601 he was definitely a member of the Raleigh faction, and opposed to the party of the Earl of Essex.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, we know that Donne was intimate with some of Essex's followers, such as Sir Henry Wotton and Sir William Cornwallis, the younger, and that at a later date he was not overly sympathetic with Raleigh in his disgrace.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the utmost caution should be employed before inferring, from Walton's obviously erroneous statement, that Donne at any period of his life was merely another of the young men who placed all their hopes in the Earl of Essex.

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<sup>6</sup> *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, CCLXV, p. 533 of the *Calendar*.

<sup>7</sup> See Northumberland's *Advice to His Son*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London, 1930), pp. 16, 19.

<sup>8</sup> See the problem, "Why was Sr Walter Raleigh thought ye fittest Man to write ye Historie of these Times?" Simpson, pp. 142-43. The problem should be read in connection with an unsympathetic account of Raleigh's trial (in 1603) addressed to Donne by an unknown correspondent, possibly George Garrard, who through most of his life was a follower of the Earl of Northumberland. See *A Collection of Letters. Made by Sr Tobie Mathews* (London, 1660), pp. 279-88.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES TO A SPRUCH OF DER MARNER

By JOHN LANCASTER RIORDAN

The most versatile and prolific of the Middle High German *Spruchdichter* is the Swabian poet known as "Der Marner."<sup>1</sup> Like his more noble contemporaries, this bourgeois poet composes love songs, and to win the favor of high ecclesiastical dignitaries he writes Latin panegyrics. It is in the *Spruch*, however, that he is most productive. Here he makes occasional use of such varied forms as the fable, riddle, *Beispiel*, *Priamel*, and *Lügenmärchen*. He writes both profane and religious songs. Sometimes they take the form of a polemic against church or state.

Early in the last quarter of the previous century, Professor Philip Strauch edited the extant songs of this poet.<sup>2</sup> His edition is still the standard one, although it should be brought up to date. For over fifty years after the publication of his work Strauch continued to add marginal notes in his personal copy. Some time after the death of Strauch, this richly annotated copy came into the possession of Professor Archer Taylor, who has kindly permitted me to edit these notes. Their publication represents a not unimportant contribution to the knowledge of German medieval culture.

In the first *Spruch*, "Der Marner" surveys the entire world, beginning with the lowly ant and ending with the Last Judgment. We can learn much from this song concerning ideas which are peculiarly medieval in character. Perhaps we encounter a trace of mysticism in the thought of the incomprehensibility of God (lines 20 f.). The etymologist will find some useful suggestions for the rare word *himelstele*. Abundant parallels to the figurative application of hammer and tongs in German literature of the Middle Ages are provided (line 25). The use of the expression "es nahent gen dem Tag" by Hans Sachs in his "Die Wittembergisch Nachtigall" represents an interesting borrowing from the vocabulary of the Middle High German *Tagelied* (cf. line 40).

Following are the scholia for the first *Spruch* (52 lines). As far as feasible they have been arranged in the manner of Strauch's *Anmerkungen*, and while the introductory remark in certain of the

<sup>1</sup> The exact dates of his birth and death are not known. His period of activity extends from approximately 1230 to 1270.

<sup>2</sup> "Der Marner," *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, XIV (1876), 1-186.

notes has been repeated for the sake of clarity, in the case of lines 11-12, the original *Anmerkung* of Strauch has been rewritten. Due to the cumbrosomeness of the great mass of notes, it seems advisable to publish them in several installments; therefore, the annotations to the remaining songs will be made available in the near future.

7ff. Man sät gute Werke auf Erden, damit man sie dereinst im Himmel einerntet. C. Schmidt, Nicholas von Basel Bericht über die Bekehrung Taulers (1875), 86<sup>1</sup>; "Sant Cecelia," hrsg. v. A. Schönbach, *ZfdA*, XVI (1873), 193, Vv. 989 ff., *wan swaz der mensche mit trvekeit unde iamer seiget, / mit vroden er daz shnidet unde meit. / swenne dem libe wirt ein ende geben, / so enphahet du sele ein ewich leben.*

11, 12. Die Sele ist der Zins, der Gott dem Herrn des Lebens bezahlt wird (Bezzenberger zu Freidank, 74, 21); wir sind Gottes dienestman, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert, hrsg. v. K. Müllenhoff und W. Scherer (Dritte Ausg. von E. Steinmeyer, Berlin, 1892), XXXI, 28, 11 (hiernach als *Dkm.* angeführt); *Das Rolandlied*, hrsg. v. K. Bartsch (Leipzig, 1874), 2, 2.26; 26, 28; 288, 25; 145. Die Apostel sind die himelischen degene, *ZfdA*, II (1842), 212, und *kristes schilt geverten*, passim Codex pal. 252; die Anhänger Christi heißen *kristes man*, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele*, II, 166; *Annolied*, 69; Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, 631, 16; 654, 6; 657, 11; ferner *godes holden*, *gotes Hede*, *gotes knechte*, *gotes scalke*; vgl. O. Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte des XIV. und XV. Jhs. vom Niederrhein* (Hannover, 1854), S. 367, Z. 39 und S. 394 ff. Wir sind seine *massenie*, *Minnesänger*, gesammelt und hrsg. von F. H. von der Hagen, IV Bde., Leipzig, 1838 (hiernach als *HMS* angeführt), III, 61: Rümzlan. "Aristoteles Heimlichkeit," hrsg. v. W. Toischer, *Jahresber. d. k. k. Staats-Obergymnasiums in Wiener-Neustadt* (1882), Z. 3063; "Zwei Gespräche zwischen Seele und Leib," hrsg. v. Max Rieger, *Germania*, III (1858), 406. *Da sint in der himelownen / ritter gut mit juncfrowen / . . . daz hofgesinde wol gereit / under eime kunige ordinieret.* Als sein *hovegesinde* müssen wir ihn als Lehnslute huldigen, Berthold von Regensberg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner dt. Predigten*, hrsg. v. F. Pfeiffer und J. Strobl (Wien, 1862), Bd. II, 124 f.: *und ist des frô daz er vil gesindes hât . . . alsô gerne sach unser herre daz vil gesindes in sinem künriche wären*; Hugo von Langenstein, *Martina*, hrsg. v. A. von Keller, "Bibl. d. litt. Ver.," XXXVIII, S. 602, Z. 47, die Propheten sind *der himel ingesinde*; "Marienlieder," hrsg. v. W. Grimm, *ZfdA*, X (1855), 53, Z. 12, *baz wan allet dat himelschgesinde*; Reinmar von Hagenau, hrsg. v. B. Ten Brink und W. Scherer, *QF*, IV (1874), 102, *Gottes ingesinde*; F. Zarncke, *Der Graltempel* (Leipzig, 1876), S. 114: 54, 2, die Engel sind *des himels gesinde*. Diese Redewendungen sind wohl biblischen Ursprungs. Vgl. besonders *Luc. II, 13, Act. VII, 42*, und

Schade, *loc. cit.* Der Himmel ist der Hof Gottes. Schulze, *Biblische Sprichwörter*, S. 27 ff.; *Braunschweigische Reimchronik*, hrsg. v. L. Weiland, "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," II (Hannover, 1872), 463, Z. 41, S. 398, Z. 74. Siehe auch *Dkm.* (siehe oben zu 11, 12) III, 8 (*Muspilli*), *das satanäzes kisindi*; *Der arme Heinrich* und die Büchlein von Hartmann von Aue, hrsg. v. Moritz Haupt (2te Aufl., Leipzig, 1881): 1. *Büchlein*, S. 97, Z. 1052, *dem tiuel z'ingesinde*; Dietmar der Sezzer, *HMS*, II, 174b, *der karge vert ze helle unt mēret dem tiuel sine schar, so nimt die milten got ze hovegesinde*; *Bruder Hansens Marienlieder aus d. 14. Jh.*, hrsg. v. R. Minzloff (1868) Z. 2371, *sduvels ingesinde*.

12. *in armen melwe begraben līst.* J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 309, "Wir nennen das grab ein bett, eine ruhestätte der entschlafenen, wo sie nach irdischer arbeit ungestört rasten. . . ."

16. *gezirket wol der sternen kreis.* Ähnliches bei Hugo von Montfort, hrsg. v. J. Wackernagel (Innsbruck, 1881), S. 123, XXX, Z. 17 ff., *Si (die Kunst) kan die zirkelmaß / ussrichten, der planetengang / ieklichen uff sinr sträss / wie er lofft, kurz oder lang.*

18. Imperativ im abhängigen Satz: O. Erdmann, *Grundzüge d. dt. Syntax nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Stuttgart, 1886), I. Teil, S. 2, § 3; K. Weinhold, *Mittelhochdt. Grammatik. Ein Handbuch* (Paderborn, 2te Ausg., 1883), S. 379; J. Grimm, *Dt. Gramm.*, IV, 85; Kuhn, *Zfvg. Sprachforschung*, I (1852), 144; Fr. Dietrich, *ZfdA*, XIII (1867), 137 f.; W. Scherer, *Zur Gesch. d. dt. Sprache* (Berlin, 1878), 195; Max Waldberg, *Die dt. Renaissancelyrik* (Berlin, 1888), S. 53.

20, 21. Der Gedanke an Gottes Unerfasslichkeit ist in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung ein sehr verbreiteter: *Daz buochlin von der tohter Syon*, hrsg. v. O. Schade (1849), S. 39 ff. Albrecht von Scharfenberg, *Der jüngere Titurel*, hrsg. v. K. Hahn (1842), Str. I, *Sam ist din hoech vnd auch din breit, din lenge din tieff die ist gar ungetrehtet*; Str. 63, *Din breit vnd auch din lenge stent immer vngemessen*; *Das alte Passional*, hrsg. v. K. Hahn (1845), S. 1, Z. 12 ff., *du bist ob aller ho ein dach / vnd aller tufe ein vullemunt / dir ist auch alleine kunt / diu lenge vnd auch die breite*; *Der Misnaere*, *HMS*, III, 97b, *Er endeloser hoehe ein dach, / breite unde lenge er endet, / er grundeloser grundes bach*; F. Mone, *Anz. f. K. d. dt. Vorzeit*, VIII (1839), 213, *hohe tiefe breit di lenge misset er in siner hant*; Hugo von Montfort, hrsg. v. J. Wackernagel (Innsbruck, 1881), S. 13 f., *nieman möcht es volschreiben / die höch, die tieff durchtriben, / die breit, die leng durchgrunden*; Konrads von Würzburg *Goldene Schmiede*, hrsg. v. W. Grimm (Berlin, 1840), Einl. XLVII; "Der sogenannte St. Georgener Prediger," hrsg. v. K. Rieder, *Dt. Texte d. Mittelalters*, X (1908), S. 133, Z. 19, *er ist dū lengi, dū braiti, dū hochi und dū tiefi; Braunschw. Reimchr.* (Siehe

oben zu Z. 11, 12), S. 497, Z. 2218 ff.; Lamprecht von Regensburg, Hoffmann Fundgruben, I, 308; Fridankes *Bescheidenheit*, hrsg. v. H. Bezzemberger (Halle, 1872), S. 79, Str. 13, Z. 23 ff., *Ich weiz wol das diu goheit / so höch ist, tief, lanc unde breit / daz gedank noch mundes wort / mac geahten siner wunder ort*; Vgl. dazu E. Steinmeyer, *Anz. f. d. A.*, IV (1878), 127; F. Sandvoss, *Freidank mit kritisch-exegetischen Anmerkungen* (Berlin, 1877), S. 152, S. 351. Auch dieser weitverbreitete Gedanke findet ohne Zweifel seinen Ursprung in der heiligen Schrift: *Ephes.* III, 18, *Ut possites comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo et longitudo et sublimitas et profundum.* *Job.* XI, 8, 9, *Excelsior coelo est, et quid facies? profundior inferno, et unde cognosces? longior terra mensura eius et latior mari.* *Eccli.* I, 2, *Altitudinem coeli, et latitudinem terrae, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?*

25. Zange und Hammer werden häufig bildlich verwendet: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, hrsg. v. K. Bartsch (Leipzig, 1870), 114, 14, *und bin ein habendin zange*; 311, 20, *sin varwe z einer zangen waer guot; sie möhete staete haben*; *Braunschweigische Reimchronik* (Siehe oben zu Z. 11, 12), S. 567, Z. 8803; Wackernagel zu Hugo von Montfort, a.a.O., S. 156, XXXVIII, Z. 29, *Venus hebt die lieb mit starkchen zangen*; K. Schaible, *Dt. Stich- und Hieb-Worte* (Strassburg, 1885), S. 59, *uns twinget noch des fluoches zange*; F. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters* (Karlsruhe, 1846), S. 130, *hamer der minneclichen minne*; *Die Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift und der Mönch von Salzburg*, hrsg. v. F. A. Mayer und H. Rietsch (Berlin, 1896), S. 259, No. 28, Z. 37 f. und Anm. S. 412; Birgitta greift einmal den bösen Geist mit Hammer und Zange an, F. Hammerich, *St. Birgitta, die nordische Prophetin und Ordensstifterin* (Gotha, 1872, aus dem Schwedischen des Michelsen übersetzt). Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, hrsg. von dem Historischen Verein zu Bamberg (1883), S. 108, Z. 9097, *in des teufels smitten; Altdeutsche Predigten*, hrsg. v. A. Schönbach (Graz, 1886), I, S. 112, Z. 17 f., *vliht das geschelde und idewize, daz sint die ubelin blasbelge des ubelin smides, des tuovelis, die entblasin den zorn.* Das Bild auch bei Berthold von Regensburg (Siehe oben zu Z. 11, 12, Ausgabe von Bartsch und Strobl), I, 319, Z. 18 f., *die da sint des tiuvels blasbelge*; *ibid.* S. 335, Z. 38; *Visio Tnugdali. Lateinisch und Deutsch*, hrsg. v. A. Wagner (Erlangen, 1882), S. 154, Z. 1112 f., *der tiuvel ein michel presse / ze einer glüejenden esse*, Z. 1134, *mit glüejenden zangen*; Gerhard von Minden, hrsg. v. W. Seelmann, *Niederdeutsche Denkmäler*, II (1878), S. 110, No. LXXIII, Z. 22 f., *De hellesmet môt de bluuen / unde vuren ore sele in der esen.* F. Bech, *Germania*, XXIX (1884), 30; Sophus Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldenäggen* (München, 1889), S. 2, "Das auch die Deutschen dem Donnergott einen Hammer beilegten, darf aus dem Gebrauch des Wortes Hammer in Verwünschungen (Daß dich der Hammer schlag! usw.)

freilich nicht geschlossen werden." Anm. dazu: "Denn der Hammer kommt als Bezeichnung des Teufels schon bei Hieronymus in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts vor und hat seine Quellen in einer falschen Erklärung von Jeremias 50, 23." K. Schaible, *a.a.O.*, S. 74 f. J. Schwistering, "Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter," *Abhh. d.k. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Philosophische-historische Klasse N. F., XVII, 3 (1921), S. 57 hält es für möglich, daß die bildliche Ausdrucksweise, wobei Gott als Schmied erscheint, letzten Endes in tieferen mittelalterlichen Anschauungen vom Ursprung musikbegleiteter Dichtkunst wurzeln könne. Vgl. Archer Taylor, *Problems in German Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Modern Language Association of America, 1939), S. 16 ff. für eine kurze Abhandlung und ausgewählte Bibliographie über den "smit von oberlande."

26. *jänen*. Über die Bedeutung dieses Wortes siehe *DWb*, IV, 2, 2229.

29. *milwe*. Bezeichnung für die Kleinheit. Vgl. Thomas Murner *Badenfahrt*, hrsg. v. V. Michels (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927), S. 60, *Vnd nit so krume herlin spielen*.

32. *diu heiter und das gehilwe* kommen zusammen vor auch *Codex latinus monacensis*, 4350, f2b; 9513, v. 140; J. A. Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wb.* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 2. Aufl. 1872), I, 1089; vgl. auch Graff, *Althochdt. Sprachschatz* (Berlin, 1834-1842), IV, 485; *DWb*, III, 783, 388; Vilmar, *Kurhessisches Idiotikon*, 162; über die Bedeutung von *gehilwe* siehe auch G. K. Fromman, *Die deutschen Mundarten*, II (1855), 346 und VI (Nürnberg, 1859), 38, No. 9.

33, 34. Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Trojanische Krieg*, hrsg. v. A. v. Keller, "Bibl. d. litt. Ver.," XLIV (1858), S. 89, Z. 7448 f., *sie zalte das gestirne / und erkande sine vart*.

35. *himelstele* sw. f. findet sich sonst nicht belegt. Das Wort *stalboume*, *ZfdA*, XV (1872), 258 und *Germania*, XVI (1871), 336 scheint mit dem Worte *stelle*, *Germania*, XXXII (1887), 119 nicht verwandt zu sein. *Stelbaum* ist wohl Abweichung von der Form *stalbaum* und hat augenscheinlich nichts mit *himelstele* zu schaffen. O. Zingerle, "Himelstele," *Germania*, XXXVII (1892), 104 meint, es könnte *himelstele* bei Marner so wie *der himel steln* bei Boppe als *altitudo coeli (coelorum)* aufgefaßt werden. Vgl. Eccli. I, 2, *Altitudinem coeli . . . quis dimensus est?* Z. läßt noch die Frage offen, wie *bercstele* (aus einer HS des 14. / 15. Jahrhunderts) und *himelstele* zu solcher Bedeutung kommt. *DWb*, IV, 2, 1365 weist folgendes auf: *seit darum albereit in hohen himelstellen . . .* Ramler, 100; vgl. J. Grimm, *Dt. Mythologie* (2. Ausg., Göttingen, 1844), II, 662, Anm. Strauch notiert S. 144: "Himmelstütze."

40. *ez nähet gein der suone tage*. Ähnliche Ausdrücke bei Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*, hrsg. v. R. Bechstein (Leipzig, 1873),

S. 253, Z. 7493, *ez nähet vaste gein dem tage*; "Ortnit," *Dt. Heldenbuch*, hrsg. v. A. Amelung und O. Jänicke (Berlin, 1871), S. 11, Str. 67, *ez nähent vaste dem járe*. Hans Sachs, "Die wittembergische nachtigall," "Bibl. d. Litt. Ver.," CX (Stuttgart, 1872), 368: *Wach auff! es nahent gen dem tag*.

47. Der name *Jôsaphat* auch bei Hermann von Sachsenheim, "Jesus der Arzt," hrsg. v. E. Martin, "Bibl. d. litt. Ver." CXXXVII (1878), 26 und S. 275, Z. 23, *Ich main in Josaphat des tal*; H. Busch, "Ein legendar aus dem anfange des zwölften jahrhunderts," *ZfdPh*, X (1879), 143, Z. 301, *Inmitten valle Josaphat ist ire graf*.

50. *kewen:zewen*. Vgl. *Meleranz von dem Pleier*, hrsg. v. K. Bartsch, "Bibl. d. litt. Ver.," LX (1861), 286, Z. 10,062, *der ginte wît mit sîner kewe*. Bartsch meint (S. 382), die Hs. habe *klewe*. Vgl. Garel, 109a, *kewe:lewe*.

51. Der Körper stirbt, die Seele lebt fort oder das Leben auf Erden ist wie der Tod. Max Rieger, "Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen," *Germania*, X (1865), 333; K. Bartsch, "Alt- und Mittelhochdeutsches aus Engelberg," *Germania*, XVIII (1873), 53, *Ich leben noch und bin och tot*; Bartsch, *Germanistische Studien*, II (1875), 189, Z. 24 ff.; Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan*, Z. 775. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, 213, 22, *ich trage den lebendigen töt*, und 255, 20. Friedrich Spee, *Trutz-Nachtigall*, hrsg. v. G. Balke, Dt. Dichter d. siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, XIII (1879), 44, Z. 189 f., *ohn Leben ich noch lebe / Bin tod ohn Tod zugleich*; Gottfrieds *Tristan*, Z. 233-240.

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## THE *TRAITÉ DES PASSIONS* AND RACINE

By J. C. LAPP

Emile Krantz, in a comparatively little known work,<sup>1</sup> found evidence of Cartesian influence in most of the writers of the seventeenth century, including Racine, but failed to see literary implications in Descartes' *Traité des Passions de l'Ame*, dismissing it somewhat vaguely as "une étude plus physiologique encore que psychologique."<sup>2</sup> Brunetière, refuting the thesis of Krantz, wrote rather scornfully, "sans doute l'ingénieux, charmant, et subtil auteur de *l'Astrée* . . . avait donné (à Racine) de bien meilleures leçons de psychologie que l'auteur du *Traité des Passions*."<sup>3</sup>

Gustave Lanson, however, has discussed in detail the literary significance of the *Traité*. In an article entitled "Le Héros cornélien et le généreux selon Descartes,"<sup>4</sup> he compares "le *Traité* . . . qu'on a trop souvent le tort d'abandonner aux philosophes"<sup>5</sup> with the tragedy of Corneille, finding therein, "non seulement analogie, mais identité d'esprit."<sup>6</sup> Again, in his *Corneille*, Lanson quotes from the *Traité des Passions*:

Corneille juge et peint les passions par rapport à la volonté. Il ne les condamne pas en elles-mêmes; il dirait volontiers comme Descartes: "Les passions sont toutes bonnes de leur nature; et nous n'avons rien à éviter que leurs mauvais usages ou leurs excès."<sup>7</sup>

Then, in the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, although he makes no specific reference to the *Traité*, the critic refers the reader to his first article on the subject:

J'ai montré ailleurs quelle exacte identité se trouve entre la psychologie de Descartes et la psychologie de Corneille: sur tous les faits importants, sur la nature et le jeu des passions, sur le rôle et la puissance de la volonté, sur la définition et le caractère de l'amour, Corneille semble nous donner l'expression dramatique des pensées abstraites du philosophe.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur l'Esthétique de Descartes* (Paris, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Etudes critiques*, IV (Paris, 1898), 138.—Racine's satirical reference to Céladon in the preface to *Andromaque* might serve to refute this statement.

<sup>4</sup> *RHL* (1894), pp. 397-411.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, 1894), p. 396.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 1898, p. 97.—The author does not give the source of his quotation, which is from Art. 211 of the *Traité*.

<sup>8</sup> "L'Influence de la philosophie cartésienne sur la littérature française," IV (1896), p. 521.

Discussing Descartes in his *Histoire de la littérature française*, Lanson reiterates his favorite opinion of the *Traité*:

Tout le monde reconnaît ici la psychologie de Corneille: sur ces deux questions capitales, théorie de l'amour, théorie de la volonté, le philosophe souscrit aux affirmations du poète, et ne fait pour ainsi dire que donner la formule de l'héroïsme cornélien.<sup>9</sup>

To Lanson, the similarities which he finds raise no question of direct influence. The poet and the philosopher, each writing independently of the other, evolved the same ideas concerning both the nature and the conduct of the passions: "C'est que tous les deux sont de la même génération, et leur pensée travaille sur des impressions identiques que la même réalité leur a fournies."<sup>10</sup>

It is impossible to deny the ingenuity with which Lanson presents his comparison of Corneille and Descartes. Yet the truth of one of his conclusions, in particular, may, I think, be questioned. Each time that he advances his theory of the parallelism of the *Traité des Passions* and Cornelian tragedy, he is at pains to emphasize another point: the complete dissimilarity of the *Traité* of Descartes and the tragedy of Racine. Descartes and Corneille, writes Lanson, have each the same model—man as French society presented him at the beginning of the seventeenth century:

... une race robuste, intelligente, active; elle a des sens brutaux, l'esprit vif, souple, lucide, pratique, la volonté saine et intacte. Entre les appétits des sens et les idées de l'esprit, elle ne laisse aucune place aux pures émotions du cœur... elle vit de la vie physique et de la vie intellectuelle, avec intensité: point du tout de la vie sentimentale.<sup>11</sup>

In our own times, he continues, when neurotics and melancholics are all too familiar, we are apt to deny that such a type as this ever existed:

Les agités sentimentaux, parfois actifs et parfois demi-conscients, les féminins délicats et vibrants de Racine sont encore à notre portée; le type intellectuel et actif, réfléchi et volontaire, nous échappe.

Thus, since according to the critic, the characters of Racine are "agités sentimentaux," and the psychology of Descartes excludes any "pure émotion du cœur," we must perforce conclude that their

<sup>9</sup> Page 398.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *RHL, loc. cit.*, p. 410.

theories of passion are incompatible. Lanson states his opinion more emphatically in a later article:

Le moins marqué de Cartésianisme parmi nos grands écrivains est peut-être Racine: je n'aperçois en lui que de la pensée antique et de la pensée janséniste; rien qui se puisse rendre à Descartes avec quelque apparence de raison.<sup>12</sup>

But let us consult Descartes. According to the *Traité*:

... les propres armes (de la volonté) sont des jugements fermes et déterminés touchant la connaissance du bien et du mal, suivant lesquels elle a résolu de conduire les actions de sa vie. (Art. 48.)

Is it possible to find characters in the tragedy of Racine who make these "jugements fermes et déterminés," whose strength of will is such that they decide upon a course of action which they unswervingly follow?

The play, *Bérénice*, is, in the words of Racine, "chargée de peu de matière."<sup>13</sup> The author places all the emphasis on the great love of the principals. Bérénice cares nothing for pomp and grandeur: all her thoughts are of Titus:

... moi, dont l'ardeur extrême,  
Je vous l'ai dit cent fois, n'aime en lui que lui-même;  
Moi qui, loin des grandeurs dont il est revêtu,  
Aurais choisi son cœur, et cherché sa vertu.  
(I, iv, 159-162.)

Titus' love is never-ending:

Depuis cinq ans entiers chaque jour je la vois,  
Et crois toujours le voir pour la première fois.  
(II, ii, 545-546.)

Nothing is more moving than the grief of Bérénice when she learns of Titus' decision:

... et pour jamais, adieu.  
Pour jamais! Ah! Seigneur, songez-vous en vous-même  
Combien ce mot cruel est affreux quand on aime;  
Dans un mois, dans un an, comment souffrirons-nous,  
Seigneur, que tant de mers me séparent de vous?  
Que le jour recommence et que le jour finisse  
Sans que jamais Titus puisse voir Bérénice,  
Sans que de tout le jour je puisse voir Titus?  
(IV, v, 1110-1117.)

From the sincerity of the words we realize how great will be the sacrifice of such a love. Bérénice knows that with a word she can

<sup>12</sup> *RMM*, loc. cit., p. 527.

<sup>13</sup> *RMM*, loc. cit., p. 527.

take Titus from his duty to the Empire, yet she chooses the other course:

Je crois, depuis cinq ans jusqu'à ce dernier jour,  
 Vous avoir assuré d'un véritable amour.  
 Ce n'est pas tout, je veux, en ce moment funeste,  
 Par un dernier effort couronner tout le reste;  
 Je vivrai, je suivrai vos ordres absolus.  
 Adieu, Seigneur, régnez: je ne vous verrai plus.  
 (V, vii, 1489, 1494.)

Is there not more power in her simple words of renunciation than in the "je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers" of Auguste?

But what of the violent, turbulent characters of Racine? Do they run counter to the precepts of the *Traité des Passions*? According to Descartes, most human beings have made decisions concerning their course of action in life:

... il y a fort peu d'hommes si faibles et irrésolus qu'ils ne veulent rien que ce que leur passion leur dicte. La plupart ont des jugements déterminés, suivant lesquels ils règlent une partie de leurs actions; et, bien que souvent ces jugements soient faux, et même fondés sur quelques passions par lesquelles la volonté s'est auparavant laissé vaincre ou séduire, toutefois à cause qu'elle continue de les suivre lorsque la passion qui les a causés est absente, on les peut considérer comme ses propres armes, et penser que les âmes sont plus fortes ou plus faibles à raison de ce qu'elles peuvent plus ou moins suivre ces jugements et résister aux passions présentes qui leur sont contraires. Mais il y a pourtant grande différence entre les résolutions qui procèdent de quelque fausse opinion et celles qui ne sont appuyées que sur la connaissance de la vérité; d'autant que si on suit ces dernières on est assuré de n'en avoir jamais de regret ni de repentir, au lieu qu'on en a toujours d'avoir suivi les premières lorsqu'on en découvre l'erreur (Art. 49; italics mine).

Bearing in mind these words of Descartes, let us consider the character of Hermione. Early in the play, it becomes evident that a clue to her character lies in her words, "il y va de ma gloire!"—that *gloire* which is defined in the *Traité* as

... une espèce de joie fondée sur l'amour qu'on a pour soi-même, et qui vient de l'opinion ou de l'espérance qu'on a d'être loué par quelques autres (Art. 204).

When Oreste comes seeking her, she is loth to receive him; he may laugh at her disgrace:

Quelle honte pour moi, quel triomphe pour lui  
 De voir mon infortune égaler son ennui.  
 (Andromaque, II, i, 395-396.)

She will not admit, even to herself, that Pyrrhus is unfaithful:

Qui vous l'a dit, Seigneur, qu'il me méprise?

Qu'elle allume en un coeur des feux si peu durables?

(II, ii, 550, 552-553.)

Thus, *gloire* is mingled with her love. At all costs her reputation must be saved, and she plots towards that end. She incites the Greeks to demand the death of Astyanax, she enlists the aid of Oreste by capitalizing on her charms, she repudiates his aid when she believes that Pyrrhus has discarded Andromaque. When she is finally convinced of her betrayal, she orders Oreste to kill her former lover. With his death, her name will be saved—he cannot then desert her for another.

Why, then, does she commit suicide? Surely not because of *gloire*, for the purpose of *gloire* has been served. She commits suicide for another reason—and here is the artistry of Racine—because she realizes that her reputation is not enough. The news of Pyrrhus' death does not bring the satisfaction she had expected; it brings only sorrow, disillusionment, and awareness too late:

... mon coeur démentait ma bouche à tous moments.

(V, iii, 1548.)

Her "jugements déterminés," her chosen course, have been proved wrong; she knows now that her love for Pyrrhus meant more than *gloire*, and she rushes to kill herself upon his corpse.

Perhaps the most resolute and strong-willed character in the tragedies of Racine is Roxane. In the first act of *Bajazet* she announces her intentions, and proceeds to carry them out to the letter:

Bajazet touche presque au trône des Sultans,  
 Il ne faut plus qu'un pas. Mais c'est où je l'attends.  
 Malgré tout mon amour, si dans cette journée  
 Il ne m'attache à lui par un juste hyménée,  
 S'il ose m'alléguer une odieuse loi;  
 Quand je fais tout pour lui, s'il ne fait tout pour moi:  
 Dès le même moment, sans songer si je l'aime,  
 Sans consulter enfin si je me perds moi-même,  
 J'abandonne l'ingrat, et le laisse rentrer  
 Dans l'état malheureux d'où je l'ai su tirer.

(I, iii, 315-324.)

When Bajazet refuses to comply with her desires, she immediately has him arrested, and only his decision to change his mind at Atalide's request prevents his execution. However, becoming suspi-

cious, Roxane skilfully causes Atalide to betray her love for Bajazet by announcing that he is condemned to death. Then, she confronts Bajazet with her knowledge of his love for Atalide. She again offers him the alternative which she announced at the beginning of the play. He refuses, and she sends him to his death with one imperious word: "Sortez!"

Descartes discusses the rigid control of strong emotions by the will in Article 46 of the *Traité des Passions*:

... l'âme . . . peut aisément surmonter les moindres passions mais non pas les plus violentes et les plus fortes, sinon après que l'émotion du sang et des esprits est apaisée. Le plus que la volonté puisse faire pendant que cette émotion est en sa vigueur, c'est de ne pas consentir à ses effets, et de retenir plusieurs des mouvements auxquels elle dispose le corps.

In Néron, perhaps more than any other of Racine's characters, we notice the quality of *repression*, the checking of violent emotions by sheer force of will. It is best shown when Néron confronts Junie and tells her of his love. When she asks the cause of her imprisonment, he replies with the suave pleasantry of the court gallant:

Quoi, Madame, est-ce donc une légère offense  
De m'avoir si longtemps caché votre présence?  
(*Britannicus*, II, iii, 593-40.)

When Junie, however, in a desperate attempt to ward off his advances, mentions Agrippine, he replies brusquely, all polish gone from his words:

Ma mère a ses desseins, Madame, et j'ai les miens.  
(*Ibid.*, line 562.)

When he announces his plan to marry her, Junie desperately reminds him of his wife, Octavie. At this continued opposition, his control vanishes. Gone is the silky politeness of his former tones; now he is coldly menacing:

Je vous ai déjà dit que je la répudie;  
Ayez moins de frayeur ou moins de modestie.  
(*Ibid.*, lines 619-20.)

The brake is off, but only for a moment. His next words are calm and measured, the formal salutation is employed, he is again the courtly emperor. But we have seen what lies beneath his calm exterior; we know the restraint he exercises to maintain his detached and ironic air.

Néron, the "monstre naissant,"<sup>14</sup> is, throughout the play, forming his "jugements fermes et déterminés." As M. F. Paulhan has pointed out,<sup>15</sup> Néron is a study of the development of personal power. He chafes against the bonds that restrain him, he wavers, he plunges on again, until, after the murder of Britannicus, we realize, with Agrippine, that his feet are firmly set in the path of evil.

These characters—Bérénice, Hermione, Roxane, Néron—display true strength of will. They plan their course, whether it be devotion to duty, or the indulgence of the passions which they approve. The judgments upon which they base their decisions are often false; and then they go down to disaster. Although only four characters have been treated, the same might be shown of others—Andromaque, Joad, Acomat, Hippolyte, even Phédre, who makes decisions and carries them out, only to fall prey to a force stronger than human agency.

In the tragedy of Racine there is no discrimination between the passions; indeed it is he, rather than Corneille, who would say with Descartes:

Les passions sont toutes bonnes de leur nature; et nous n'avons rien à éviter que leurs mauvais usages ou leurs excès (Art. 211).

Love is not to Descartes, as to Corneille, less important than personal honor; to the philosopher, parental love may be as noble as love for country. Is there not something of excess in the patriotic fervor of Horace, who kills his sister for insulting Rome, and then delivers a nine-line eulogy of fratricide?<sup>16</sup> Or in the elder Horace, who sweeps aside parental affection with the devastating "Qu'il mourût!" The Descartes who wrote:

... L'amour qu'un bon père a pour ses enfants est si pur qu'il ne désire rien avoir d'eux, et ne veut point les posséder autrement qu'il fait, ni être join à eux plus étroitement qu'il est déjà; mais, les considérant comme d'autres soi-même, il recherche leur bien comme le sien propre, ou même avec plus de soin, pour ce que, se représentant que lui et eux font un tout dont il n'est pas la meilleure partie, il préfère souvent leurs intérêts aux siens, et ne craint pas de se perdre pour les sauver (Art. 82).

would, in all probability, have found in the creator of Andromaque a truer champion of his conception of the passions.

<sup>14</sup> Preface to *Britannicus*.

<sup>15</sup> "Racine et la maîtrise de soi," *Revue universelle*, XXVII (1926), 177-95.

<sup>16</sup> *Horace*, IV, vii, 1326-1334.

Another point of resemblance remains. According to the philosopher, the various passions always manifest themselves by different external signs:

Les principaux de ces signes sont les actions des yeux et du visage, les changements de couleur, les tremblements, la langueur, la pâmoison, les ris, les larmes, les gémissements et les soupirs (Art. 112).

There is no passion which does not betray itself in the eyes:

... même les valets les plus stupides peuvent remarquer à l'oeil de leur maître s'il est fâché contre eux ou s'il ne l'est pas (Art. 113).

One of the most interesting of the outward signs of passion is languor, which, according to Descartes, is chiefly caused by love:

La passion qui cause le plus ordinairement cet effet est l'amour joint au désir d'une chose dont l'acquisition n'est pas imaginée comme possible pour le temps présent; car l'amour occupe tellement l'âme à considérer l'objet aimé, qu'elle emploie tous les esprits qui sont dans le cerveau à lui en représenter l'image, et arrête tous les mouvements de la glande qui ne servent point à cet effet (Art. 120).

Thus, when a person considers his love hopeless he becomes lax and melancholy, unable to translate his thoughts into action—"sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." According to Lanson, languor and inaction are never the result of love in the tragedies of Corneille. His heroes waste no time in "molles rêveries de l'imagination."<sup>17</sup> Yet do we not find an echo of Descartes' words in the character of Oreste, of whom Jules Lemaître has said: "Il me paraît le premier des héros romantiques"<sup>18</sup> Oreste is unable to shake off the image of Hermione even though she has refused him:

Hermione, elle-même, a vu plus de cent fois  
Cet amant irrité revenir sous ses lois.

(*Andromaque*, I, i, 115.)

He is not a man of action—when Hermoine presses him to revenge her injured name by killing Pyrrhus, he cries:

Hé bien, il faut le perdre, et prévenir sa grâce,  
Il faut . . . mais cependant que faut-il que je fasse?  
(*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 1200-01.)

I would not suggest that Descartes' description of love-languor even approaches the subtlety with which Racine depicts the character of Oreste. Let it suffice to note here that the parallel exists.

<sup>17</sup> *RHL, loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Jean Racine* (Paris, 1910), p. 147.

Georges Le Bidois has shown that, whereas in the tragedy of Corneille there are few references to the outward signs of passion, Racine made conscious dramatic use of them to obtain some of his most startling effects.<sup>19</sup> In a recent article, Etienne Gilson compares the actions of Phèdre with the description of outward evidences of passion in the *Traité*, declaring Phèdre's report of her first glimpse of Hippolyte—"Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue"—to be "du Descartes traduit en langue de théâtre par un dramaturge de génie."<sup>20</sup>

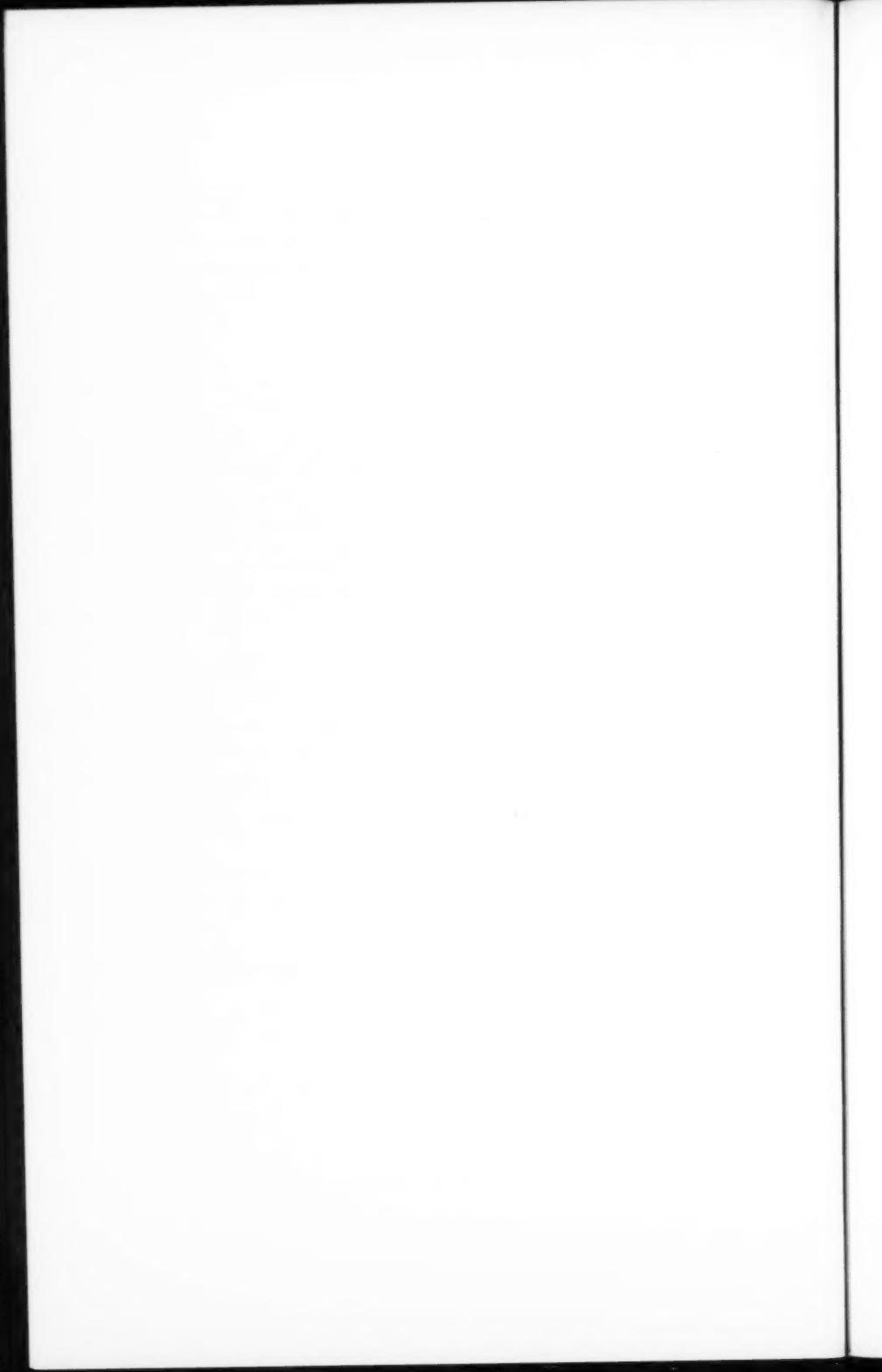
Thus, in the treatment of the external signs of passion, as well as of will and determination, the similarity between the *Traité des Passions* and the Tragedy of Passion is evident. It is true that such a similarity does not prove the direct influence of Descartes upon Racine. Yet the portrait of the philosopher did hang in the poet's house, as M. Gilson emphasizes, and, more important still, the complete works of Descartes stood upon the shelves of Racine's library.<sup>21</sup> At any rate, we may justifiably reject Lanson's contention that there can be no relation between the theories of Descartes and Racine, and with it his labelling of the Racinian characters as "agités sentimentaux, parfois actifs, et parfois demi consciens." Perhaps if Lanson had written his articles in 1880 or in 1920, he would not have so closely identified the characters of Racine with the abulic victims of emotion. The fact remains that his statements on the subject were never subsequently altered. Their refutation, necessitating as it does the comparison of Racine's treatment of passion with that of Descartes, apostle of will and reason, may have served to throw stronger light upon the power, the conscious determination of the characters of Racine. From a new point of vantage the poet's greatness of conception may thereby stand the more clearly revealed.

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<sup>19</sup> *La Vie dans les tragédies de Racine* (Paris, 1901).

<sup>20</sup> *Nouvelles Littéraires* (April 15, 1939).—To the criticism of this article by André Rousseaux, "Sapho a-t-elle lu Descartes?" (*Revue universelle*, May 1, 1939), Gilson has replied in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* (May 27, 1939).

<sup>21</sup> P. Bonnefon, "La Bibliothèque de Racine," *RHL*, V (1898), 178.—Cf. also W. McC. Stewart, "Racine et Descartes," *RCC*, a. 39, II, pp. 385-394; 499-511.



## OLD FRENCH *SOUTIF* "SOLITARY"

By YAKOV MALKIEL

### I

OFr. *soutif* is ordinarily looked upon as a widespread variety of *soutil* "cunning," "crafty,"<sup>1</sup> which, in its turn, is considered the normal outcome of *subtilis* in native development.<sup>2</sup> The substitution of *-if* for *-il* is then accounted for as largely due to the tendency,

<sup>1</sup> The many nuances of OFr. *sotil* can be determined with tolerable safety by way of such parallelisms as: *sutil estoient et agu* (Guiot de Provins, *Œuvres*, ed. J. Orr [Manchester, 1915], *La Bible*, v. 87); *molt fu soutis et soudans* (*ibid.*, v. 1927); *un esperit multipliable, sotil, morvant e entendable* (Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire*, ed. R. Reinsch [Leipzig, 1892], Afrz. Bibl. 14, v. 2104); *amors qui en tant maint afere a este sages et souties* (Jean Renart, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, ed. J. Bédier [Paris, 1913], SATF, v. 566), and so forth. In many respects, it was simply synonymous with "clever"—as cleverness appeared to the untutored mind of French countryfolk in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> In view of its pre-eminently abstract connotation as against It. *sottile* "thin," OFr. *soutil* is believed by some scholars to have deviated from its natural course in the vernacular to the extent of representing a semi-learned word. This opinion has been endorsed by O. Bloch, who writes in his *Dictionnaire Étymologique* s. v. *subtil*:

*Soutil . . . continue régulièrement le latin *subtilis*, comme l'italien *sottile* "menu, fluet, subtil" et l'ancien provençal "id"; mais l'adjectif français n'a conservé que le sens intellectuel, ce qui explique qu'il révèle de bonne heure l'action du mot latin.*

Bloch does not go into details as to the approximate dating of this semantic shift. In Old French, the use of *sotil* in a material sense was not at all infrequent; the meaning "sharp" underlies: *a sa dent soutive decope Les laz, son seignor desvoleope* (*Lyoner Ysopet*, ed. W. Foerster [Heilbronn, 1882], Afrz. Bibl. 5, v. 1027). Parallelism with *gresle* would point to "sleender" as the only acceptable translation in two passages from *Li Fet des Romains* (composed 1213), ed. L. F. Flute and K. Sneyders de Vogel (Paris-Groningen, 1935-8): *l'en clame lice gresle cordelete fort et sustil de fil retrors* (p. 650, line 20); *l'en veoit le dragon de feu corre par l'air une hore gros, autre hore greille et soutil* (p. 359, line 10); another pertinent example would be: *mult at sultiz vergetes, menues, deliètes* (Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, ed. E. Walberg [Lund-Paris, 1900], v. 781). Then again, the word meant "light" in: *la charz ert soutis et legiere, ne la tandra murs ne maisiere* (*Eructavit*, ed. T. A. Jenkins [Dresden, 1909], GRL 20, v. 1993).

The argument of Bloch must be weighed cautiously, as in Spanish and Portuguese the development of *sotil* into *sutil* under the influence of Latinizing trends did not coincide with a restriction of its use to the spiritual domain. The material sense, rarely present in the old texts, may have been reinforced by Italian influence (K. Pietsch, *Spanish Grail Fragments*, II [Chicago, 1925], p. 28, quotes: *de liengo tanto soutil e delgado* from an old translation of the *Decamerone*). The classics used *sutil* for: (a) thin; (b) delicate, suave; (c) ingenious. Cf. Luis de Góngora: *La ceja entre parda i*

peculiar to Romance and in particular to French, of exchanging comparatively rare endings for more current suffixes.<sup>3</sup>

Be that as it may, many editors of mediaeval texts have found it difficult to apply the meaning "shrewd" to this word in a given passage, and have consequently been led to believe that *soutif* must have possessed more than one connotation. This, at least, is what follows by implication from a statement by A. Jeanroy and A. Långfors with reference to the following lines of a lyrical poem of the thirteenth century:<sup>4</sup>

Cele ki tant aim e desir  
M'ocit senz forfaiture  
Quant si sultif me lait languir  
Qu'e le ne m'aseüre.

*negra Mui mas larga que sutil; Porque a los aromas deliciosa Lo mas sutil de sus alientos beve* (*Obra Poética*, ed. Foulché Delbosc [New York, 1921], I, 136-7; III, 28). A contemporary author, Azorín, uses *sutil* for "sharp": *cortante con sutilas tijeras el pelo los perchadores* (*Castilla*,<sup>2</sup> p. 57), and for "thin": *se levantan dos grandes edificios: tienen una elevadísima y sutil chimenea* (*ibid.*, p. 62), synonymous with *aqueellas afiladas copas de los cipreses; las dos copas agudas de los cipreses* (*ibid.*, pp. 111, 130).

In Old Catalan, the Latinized spelling (and, possibly, pronunciation) *subtil* could be consistent with the material sense: *scilenc als trists pensaments, via la candida vista dins subtilissimo vel, e, de presumpcio, l'amagada front de nobilitat meravellosa* (Fra Rocaberti, "Gloria d'Amor," *A Catalan Vision Poem of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. H. C. Heaton [New York, 1916], Prologue, line 75).

In Old Provençal, *sotil*, apart from "ingenious," also signified "thin," "slim": *Lo cors a fresc, sotil e gai, Et anc no . n vi tan avinen* (Bernart von Ventadorn, *Lieder*, ed. C. Appel, XXVII [Halle, 1915], line 37). This meaning extended to the Latinized form, as well: *ample lo peyz et aformad, lo bu subtil, non trob delcad* (Alexander 70), and: *passar per i crebellador subtil* (*Enferm. uelhs*), both passages quoted from Emil Levy, *Provenzalische Supplement-Wörterbuch*, VII (Leipzig, 1915), p. 849b.

In the light of these facts, the explanation of Bloch appears oversimplified. One is tempted to think of the influx of the Picardism *soutieu* into the Middle French *koiné* (along with *aisieu*, *baillieu*, *ententieu*, *hastieu*, *pensieu*, *santieu*, *volentieu*, found, for instance, in *La Prise Amoureuse*, composed by 1335, ed. E. Hoepffner [Dresden, 1910], GRL 22, and in Froissard's *Meliador*, composed by 1385, ed. A. Longnon [Paris, 1895-9], SATF); the obvious gap between *soutieu* and *subtil* may have prevented an unimpeded organic transition from the one to the other, in contrast to Spanish where *sotil* was easily identified as a cognate of *subtilis*. However, this theory would be invalidated by the promiscuous occurrence in Deschamps of such multifarious forms as *soutif*, *sotil*, *sutil*, *subtif* as well as by the abnormal combinations of the learned variety of the stem with the native ending and vice versa in *subtilesse* beside *soustilité* (*Mystère du Vieux Testament*, ed. J. de Rothschild [Paris, 1878-91], SATF). The whole problem requires elaboration.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the well-known *ovile* group for stables, kennels, etc., and *barnil*, *enfantil*, *gentil*, *seignoril*, note: *bestil* "infernal noise" in *Wistasse le Moine*, ed. W. Foerster and J. Trost (Halle, 1891), Rom. Bibl. 4, v. 80; *clergil* in *Guernes de Pont Sainte Maxence, Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. E. Walberg (Lund, 1922), v. 2988.

<sup>4</sup> *Chansons satiriques et bâchiques du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. A. Jeanroy and A. Långfors (Paris, 1921), CFMA, No. XXIII, v. 17.

Regarding the *l* in *sultif* as a misdirected attempt at hypercorrection and identifying the word with *soutif*, the editors are hesitant as to what interpretation to give the word in this context and say: "Le sens ordinaire du mot ("adroit," "ingénieux") ne convient pas à ce passage."<sup>8</sup>

In comparison with the perplexity of two such experts, information supplied scarcely a decade later by O. Bloch in his *Dictionnaire Étymologique* s. v. *solitaire* is surprisingly exhaustive. Not only is he completely at home with two distinct lexical units *soutif*, one of which he links up with *subtilis* and the other, meaning "lonesome," with *solus*, but he makes an ingenious attempt to discover the connection between the two homonyms and to ascertain the direction of influences they are likely to have exerted on each other:

L'ancien français a dit jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle *soltain, soudain*, latin populaire \**sōlitānus* (*sōlitāneus* est attesté à basse époque) . . . et *soltif, soutif*, issu du précédent par substitution de suffixe, d'après *soutif* "adroit, ingénieux," autre forme de *soutif*, latin *subtilis*; il y avait un rapport de sens: une action adroite peut être une action secrète.

At first sight, Bloch's arguments in support of his suggestion appear satisfactory in all respects. The above stanza yields excellent sense as soon as *sultif* is conceived as deriving from "alone":

She whom I love and desire so much  
Kills me without guilt (on my part)  
By letting me languish quite forlorn  
Without giving me any pledge.

Also, the assumption of suffix-change is strengthened by the evidence of semantic relation between the two primitives. But a preliminary doubt arises: can it be safely contended that a word signifying "slyness," "artfulness" (with the manifold associations that such a meaning is bound to provoke in popular imagination, all of them centering around the meaner impulses of human nature) should have attracted into its orbit such a lofty conception as "loneliness," "solitude"?

<sup>8</sup> The fact must be taken into account, however, that the word is quite unusual in lyrical poetry, in which both philologists have specialized. This shows how little homogeneous the Old French lexicon was by the year 1200, and how even words of a general meaning were peculiar to individual literary genres. This aspect has been recently emphasized by E. Faral: "Il existe des textes qui prouvent que, dès le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette distinction des genres et des styles existait comme règle, et une étude serrée montre que le vocabulaire et le langue ne sont point les mêmes selon que les œuvres appartiennent à tel ou tel genre" (*Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, Moyen Âge [Paris, 1939], (A-At), pp. VIII-IX).

There is a possible further weakness in Bloch's reasoning. Is it believable that *soutif* "clever," which after all represents but a secondary form, should have antedated *soutif* "solitary" to the extent of having been able to interfere with its development? Unless this can be proved, the factual data provided by Bloch may be of much help, but the essential chronological condition on which his theory rests would appear doubtful. Hence his arrangement of the items and the course of development he assumes would have to be re-examined on the ground of ample and carefully classified material.

Preliminary, however, to the discussion of the crux of the problem is the question how Godefroy, in scrutinizing his vast sources, could have failed to amass a number of instances of *soutif* "abandoned." As a matter of fact, he did run across as many as four passages where this variety of the word was involved, but it so happened that in all four cases the ending was slightly modified. Thus, while the lexicographer must be accredited with having set apart the whole group as definitely distinct from its homonyms, he was not quite so successful in trying to determine the correct basic form of the word in question. Misguided by the multiplicity of endings, he was led to list *soutil*, instead of *soutif*, as "écarté." The reason for this was that in his earliest example, where the authentic form in *-if* was actually implied, the *f*, being followed by *s*, had completely disappeared: *tant vont par lieus estranges et soutis* (*Li Loherenc*). Now, the same procedure happens to be applied to *-il* as well, when found in a similar position. Moreover, Godefroy in three later works found the explicit spelling either with unaltered *l*, or with *l* vocalized into *u*:

- (a)      . . . ne li çoile nient  
U il va et quel liu vient  
Et que il querit en cele lande  
Qui tant par est *soutius* et grande (*Blancandin*)
- (b)      La forest qui est parfonde et *soutile* (*Chronique de St. Denis*)
- (c)      En i. *soutil* leu habita (*Du Roi Alexandre et du Segretain*).

As will be pointed out hereafter, preference unanimously given to *soltif* by all writers of the twelfth century indicates the priority of this form over *soutif* so far as the idea of "solitary" goes. However, since Godefroy's familiarity with the specific conditions of word-formation was not nearly adequate to his prodigious reading, he had little reason to doubt that the original consonant implied in *soutius*

or traceable from *soutis* was the same, namely *l*, and accordingly listed the case s. v. *soutil* 2, instead of *soutif* 2.<sup>6</sup>

If there was a scholar in the nineteenth century to whom unreserved credit must be given for continued efforts to explore the domain of *soutif*, it was Wendelin Foerster. When setting out, as a comparatively young scholar, to provide a critical edition of *Aiol et Mirabel* (Heilbronn, 1876-82), he not only commented upon the difficult passages, but indulged in a number of digressions. In one such annotation (p. 480), devoted to *soutiement* (v. 5785), he was the first to voice the belief that the sense of "lonely" may have evolved out of that of "cunning" by the instrumentality of *sotain*. As evidence of the former meaning, then unknown, he cited from *Li Romans des Sept Sages*:<sup>7</sup>

Un jour se mist en un batel,  
Ensamble od lui un damoisiel,  
Tout senglement, que n'i ot plus;  
Najant en vont a un renclus,  
Ki en un rochier s'estoit mis,  
En un liu ki molt fu *soutis*.

Foerster elaborated upon this theory in his edition of *Yvain*<sup>8</sup> and particularly in an extensive note in his comment upon the *Lyoner Ysopet*,<sup>9</sup> where he poured out a wealth of information which no subsequent student can help drawing upon, however critical he may be of the explanation itself.

<sup>6</sup> This decision seems to have weighed heavily in the opinion of subsequent editors. How else account for the attitude of Ernest Muret, who, not only in the first edition of Béroul's *Roman de Tristan* (Paris, 1903), SATF, but even in the third revised edition prepared for CFMA as late as 1928 traces back acc. plur. *soutiz* to *soutil* (p. 165), while correctly developing *planteiz* (v. 1813) from a base in *-if*. The passage in question runs (v. 1937):

Il respondent: "Ce poise nos.  
Chatons commanda a son filz  
A eschiver les leus *soutiz*."

There is no valid reason to assume substitution of *-il* for *-if* at this early stage. The word should have been listed as *soutif* "écarté."

<sup>7</sup> Foerster quoted from the edition of H. A. Keller (Tuebingen, 1836), v. 4690. This corresponds to v. 4697 of the edition by Jean Misrahi (Paris, 1933). The word under discussion does not seem to occur in *Deux rédactions du roman des Sept Sages*, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1886), SATF, where the "vaticinium" episode is narrated on p. 47 and p. 163, respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Kristian von Troyes' Gesammelte Werke, *Der Loewenritter* (*Yvain*), ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1887), note to v. 3179.

<sup>9</sup> *Lyoner Ysopet* (XIII. Jh.) in der Mundart der Franche Comté, ed. W. Foerster (Heilbronn, 1882), Afrz. Bibl. 5, p. 157.

## II

Perhaps the most important discovery of Foerster is his statement of the repeated occurrence of *soltif* in one particular literary province, namely that of religious writings, almost invariably adapted from Latin sources. As the persistent use of a dubious word in a clearly circumscribed territory may yield the clue to its origin, it is desirable to investigate these cases at some length, beginning with literal translations of Biblical texts and passing on to imitative, notably hagiographic and didactic literature.

The *Psalter of Cambridge*,<sup>10</sup> which is known to follow the text of Jerome and hence that of the Hebrew original very closely,<sup>11</sup> abounds in *sultif* as well as *sultiveté*. There is every reason to believe that the translator has made it a strict rule to resort to these words whenever he encountered *solitarius* and *solitudo* in his Latin model:

- (1) Eme a gladio animam meam,  
de manu canis *solitariam*  
meam (XXI, 21); Delivre del espede la meie aneme,  
de la main del chien la meie  
*soultive*;
- (2) Deus in habitaculo sancto  
suo, Deus habitare facit  
*solitarios* in domo (LVII,  
6); Deus en sun saint tabernacle,  
Deus fait abiter les *sultifs* en  
maisun;
- (3) Vigilavi, et fui sicut avis  
*solitaria* super tectum (CI,  
7). Je veillai, et sui sicume oisels,  
*sultifs* sur cuverture.

With equal fidelity *sultiveté* reflects *solitudo*:

Venez e veez les ovres del Seignur, ou il ad posé les *soultivetez*  
en terre (XLV, 8);

Kar ne de oriente, ne de occident, ne de la *sultiveté* des munz  
(LXXIV, 6);

E parlant cuntre Deu disaient: Dunne purrat Deus poser table  
en *sultiveté*? (LXXVII, 19);

Par quarante fiedes le purvuchierent el desert, affligerent lui en  
*sultiveté* (LXXVII, 40);

<sup>10</sup> *Le Livre des Psaumes*, Ancienne traduction française publiée d'après les manuscrits de Cambridge et de Paris par F. Michel (Paris, 1876).

<sup>11</sup> Association of "loneliness" and "desert" was foreign to Hebrew, where the *hrb* root, signifying "dirth," provided for a variety of expressions for "waste," "wilderness" (*horebh*, *horbah*, *hārābhā*, *hārābhōn*), while the word for "solitary" (*yahidh*) was connected with "one." In Latin, the *solus* family was called upon to compensate for the pronounced scarcity of words denoting desert ground.

Semblez sui al pelican del desert, faiz sui sicume li huhans de *sultivetet* (CI, 6) ;

Foleerent en *sultiveté* en deserte veie (CVI, 4) ;

E espadrad despisement sur les princes, e foleer feraid els en *sultiveté* de veie (CVI, 40) ;

Il trovat lui en tere desertethe, en liu de hisdur e guaste *sultivetet* (Cant. Moisi 13).

Alternately with this derivative is used *la sultive*, which it may be said in passing betrays a strikingly early radiation of the Church Latin *initiativa, memorativa* type :

Del enemi sunt aemplies les *sultives* en fin (IX, 6) ;

Cunvertis la meie aneme de ses cheitvetez, et des leüns la meie *sultive* (XXXIV, 18).

Both words were synonymous with "desert." Inherent in both was a certain emotionalizing force, since they conjured up to the mind of the pious reader the holy landscape of Egypt and Palestine as the background to numerous Biblical episodes.

This word-family does not quite so often appear in the *Psalter of Oxford*,<sup>12</sup> which is supposed to go back to a different Latin version, the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. Out of the dozen above-cited passages, only two (CI, 7 and Cant. Moisi 13) are rendered in a similar way, while in the majority of cases recourse has been had to some sort of circumlocution. Conversely, *sultivetet* has been employed occasionally where the Cambridge text presented *desert* in conformity with the wording of the *Vulgata* :

Astetei je m'esluignai fuianz, e mains en *sultivetet* (LIV, 7);<sup>13</sup>

Semblanz faiz sui al pelican de *soltivedet*; faiz sui sicume fresiae en maisuncle (CI, 7).

As for the *Lotharingian Psalter* of the fourteenth century,<sup>14</sup> the translator seems to have skillfully avoided using *soltif* :

Vez cy ie me suis esloignieit en fuiant et ai demorei on desert *solitaire* (LIV, 7);

Je suis fais semblans au pellicans dou *desert*. I'ai weillieit et ie suis faiz ensicom li passeret ou li moixons *solitaires* on teit (CI, 6-7);

<sup>12</sup> *Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua Gallica*, ed. Franciscus Michel (Oxonii, 1860).

<sup>13</sup> *Vulgata*: Ut procul abeam et commover in *deserto*; *Psalter of Cambridge*: Que en loin alge et demuerge el *deserte*.

<sup>14</sup> *Lothringischer Psalter* (XIV. Jh.), ed. F. Apfelstedt (Heilbronn, 1881), Afrz. Bibl. 4.

Il lou trouvait en une terre deserte, en lieu horrible, en une terre deserte et waiste (Cant. Moisi 13).

How can this sudden change be accounted for? The elimination of the word may of course indicate dialectal differences. More plausible reasons, however, could be adduced in favor of another theory. If the difference of roughly two centuries between the two Western and the one Eastern versions be duly taken into account, it will appear evident that in the meanwhile the genesis and spread of a new variety of *soutif* signifying "astute" and representing the distortion rather than the outgrowth of *subtilis* may have succeeded in ruling out the older formation. If so, the one circumstance of real import in this complicated process of substitutions would be the fact that the collision of two native homonyms has in the last analysis imperatively called for the incorporation into the vernacular lexicon of the Latinism *solitaire*.

Apart from the Psalters, the Old French version of the *Four Books of the Kings*, likewise noted for its wealth of archaic features,<sup>15</sup> contains *soltif* in a passage where it is characteristically used not as a rendition of a Latin term, but as an explanatory element:

Venit autem David in Nobe  
ad Achimelech sacerdotem: et  
obstupuit Achimelech, eo quod  
venisset David. Et dixit ei:  
Quare tu solus, et nullus est  
tecum?

David vint en Nobe à Achimelech le pruveire, mais Achimelech s'esmerveillad de ço que David vint si *sultifs*, si li dist:  
Purquei viens suls é nuls ne vient  
od tei?

This case is particularly pertinent to the clarification of the true nature of the word. Though common in texts deriving from Latin, *soltif* was by no means imposed upon the translator by the presence of a certain equivalent in the pattern. All that he needed to know was that *soltif* was relevant to the religious sphere, that it could be appropriately used in a text serving an ecclesiastical purpose, that its careful application in a number of conventionalized situations was certain to add to the effectiveness of the style.

This applies particularly to the saints' lives. The testimony of a contemporary chronicler bears out the surmise that, aside from the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, which happens to be preserved, many more documents of the same kind now missing originated and circulated as early as the eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> This information is corroborated by the accomplishments of literary technique displayed in the

<sup>15</sup> *Li Quatre Livre des Reis*, ed. E. R. Curtius (Dresden, 1911), GRL 26, Book I, cap. XXI (p. 42).

<sup>16</sup> Urban T. Holmes, Jr., *A History of Old French Literature from the Origins to 1300* (New York, 1937), p. 30.

hagiographic monuments of the subsequent century as well as by the considerable measure of uniformity in composition and style. Both facts indirectly bear witness to the existence of firmly established and recognized patterns long before the year 1100.<sup>17</sup>

Now one such favorite and doubtless early standardized expedient of the devotional writers was to arouse the interest of their readers in the fate of the hero by demonstrating the full amount of what he had voluntarily abandoned and renounced on his way toward ever more rigid seclusion. He was ordinarily born to wealth, to powerful friends and to the enjoyment of all earthly pleasures, and, to crown his success, he usually made a very promising marriage, but he was invariably depicted as foregoing all these privileges after having realized the futility of human aspirations. The next step for him was to seek refuge in a cloister, where, however, the news of the miracles performed by the novice spread out and made him so renowned as to cause all notables of the country to start on pilgrimages to the monastery in order to ask the holy man for his advice. At last, the monk had no time for concentrating on his prayers, and so he fled to the wilderness to carry on a life of privation, charity, and contemplation.

These, for instance, are the chief events in the *Life of St. Ebrulfus* as narrated by a French clerk of the late twelfth century,<sup>18</sup> but some of its essential features, particularly the tripartite outline: human companionship, monastic brotherhood, complete isolation, will be discovered in almost all the rest of the poems.<sup>19</sup> So the word denoting "solitary" became of paramount importance for a literary type dealing precisely with the life of men possessed by this one idea of attaining undisturbed solitude. As the general poetic doctrine of the Middle Ages called for repetition rather than variation,<sup>20</sup> especially in the semi-learned domain,<sup>21</sup> this principle would naturally be applied in a didactic genre created to impress a certain truth upon naive readers. It is little wonder then that the

<sup>17</sup> Edmond Faral, *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1934), p. 179: "Il n'est pas douteux que l'hagiographie ait été, dès le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, un genre beaucoup plus fécond que ne le laisserait supposer la rareté des textes conservés."

<sup>18</sup> *Das altfranzösische Ebrulfusleben*, ed. Ferdinand Danne, *Roman. Forsch.*, XXXII (1913), 748-893.

<sup>19</sup> There exists, however, the other type of saint who attains to contentedness and humility not until he passes through many tribulations; see *Das altfranzösische Eustachiusleben*, ed. Andreas C. Ott, *Roman. Forsch.*, XXXII (1913), 481-607. The motives of self-sacrifice and adventure are thus blended in *La Vie de Sainte Alexis*, which therefore shows a rather complex structure.

<sup>20</sup> Gunnar Biller, *Étude sur le style des premiers romans en vers (1150-1175)* (Göteborg, 1916).

<sup>21</sup> Helmut Hatzfeld, "Einige Stilsweisenszüge der altfranzösischen religiösen Reimdichtung," *ZRPh*, LII (1932), 693-727.

recurring situation of a man being impelled by divine inspiration to restless search for solitude should have been clad, almost inevitably, in a similar wording, including the well-nigh compulsory use of the pregnant word *soltif*. In a few cases, the scope of *soltif* was extended from the person of the hermit to his residence and finally applied to dreary landscapes or crumbling ruins in general. This function can be illustrated by numerous examples.

(1) *Vie de Saint Eustache*,<sup>22</sup> v. 713:

The Emperor of Rome is about to give a magnificent feast on the occasion of his victory over the Persians, when he suddenly becomes aware of the absence of his seneschal Placidus:

Li emperere, quant il voit  
 Ke Placidus pas n'i estoit  
 Sil fait querre en son ostal . . .  
 Li mesage a l'ostel trouvé  
 Trestoz *soutis* et degasté  
 N'i a trouve serf ne ancele  
 Ke l'en sache dire novele  
 Ne nul homme en la chité  
 Qui sache dire ou sont ale.

(2) *Vie de Saint Gilles*,<sup>23</sup> v. 318:

The barons say to St. Gilles, since he spends all the money which he has inherited from his parents on the poor and on the sick, that he should somewhat restrain his liberality, take a wife, set up housekeeping and lead an orderly life:

Prudume furent ti ancestre  
 Ki devant tei tindrent l'onur;  
 Garde ne seies le peiur,  
 Garde, sire, ke hom ne die:  
 A mult feble heir est revertie.  
 Tu fais semblant d'ume *sultif*,  
 La terre gastes a estrif.  
 Mar fud tis cors e ta beuté,  
 Quant il nen ad en tei bunté.  
 Si tu n'oses terre tenir,  
 Va tei en un buisson tapir

<sup>22</sup> *Vie de Saint Eustache en Vers*, ed. H. Petersen (Paris, 1928), CFMA; the word is absent from the version published by Ott (v. 470: *mais li autre enfes est a la rive sous*; v. 907: *je sui ci sole en estrange contre*).

<sup>23</sup> Guillaume de Berneville, *La Vie de Saint Gilles, Poème du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. G. Paris et A. Bos (Paris, 1881), SATF.

E deven moigne en un moster  
Kar tu nen as de el mestier.<sup>24</sup>

(3) *Vie du Pape Grégoire le Grand*,<sup>25</sup> p. 93:

The later Pope Gregory has expressed a wish to find a place where he may live undisturbed in complete isolation from mankind so as to concentrate entirely on devotion:

Mais n'ai encore lue trové  
Qui me seit venuz en corage  
Ne d'abeē ne d'ermitage;  
Mais se je alcun lue seüssé  
O toz solz abiter pousse  
E demener en paiz ma vie  
Ne queisse autre manentie.

The fisherman who has urged him to choose this way of life now recommends a place to him that would be to his convenience:

Iluec, si vos vient en corage,  
Poëz trover bon hermitage  
Et quant lue *soltif* demandez  
Jamar en serez esgarez  
Tost i porrez estre chenuz  
Ainz que vos i serez seüz.

(4) *Voyage de Saint Brendan*,<sup>26</sup> v. 81:

Brendan, having made up his mind to lead a life of seclusion and penitence, takes the advice of the hermit Barinz:

Cil li mustrat par plusurs diz,  
Beals ensamples e bons respiz,  
Qu'il vit en mer e en terre  
Quant son filiol alat querre:  
Ço fud Mernoc, qui ert frerre  
Del liu u cist abes ere,  
Mais de ço fud mult voluntif  
Que fust ailurs e plus *soltif*.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> This work is particularly noted for its archaic style: "L'archaïsme du style frappera tous ceux qui sont habitués à lire l'ancien français; il paraît antérieur non seulement à Chrétien et à Gautier d'Arras, mais à Benoît et même à Wace" (p. XVI). Notwithstanding this outward appearance, historical evidence obliged the editors to admit that the poem may have been composed by 1170 as the earliest possible date.

<sup>25</sup> *Vie du Pape Grégoire le Grand*, ed. V. Luzarche (Tours, 1857).

<sup>26</sup> "The Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St. Brendan by Benedeit*," *A Poem of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. E. G. R. Waters (Oxford, 1928).

<sup>27</sup> In his otherwise meritorious chapter on the vocabulary of the poem (p. clxxix ff.), Waters has not seen fit to class *soltif* under one of the groups of semi-learned words which he attempted to set off with meticulous accuracy, such as "terms of monastic life" (e.g., *atre*, *hermite*, *muine*); "ecclesiastical terms" (*chalice*, *sirge*, *cumungement*, *sacraire*); "words trans-

(5) *Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*,<sup>28</sup> vv. 121, 735, 833:

Euphrosine is on the verge of despair after the loss of her mother:

La cité d'Alixandre eret riche et antive,  
Replenie d'avoir et de pople fortive,  
Plaine d'envoiseüre et de gent amelive.  
Le jor virent la virgene n'est remeise *soltive*;  
Por la mort de sa mere si soi clamoit chaitive.  
Tant bele creature ne fut morte ne vive,  
Cant la donzele plore et sa biatez avive.

Euphrosine was expected to marry a young rich gentleman, but instead she fled to a convent. Her fiancé, ignorant of her whereabouts, is inconsolable:

Membre li de s'espose dont tant es dolereus,  
Comence un dol a faire—anc n'oi tant pitous:  
"Eüfrosine bele, ke dirai ge de vous?  
Laissiet m'avez *soltif* et iriet et dotos.  
*Soltif*—car je n'amoie e siecle ne mais vous.  
Iriet—car perduit ai ce dont ere joious.  
Dotoz—car ne sai par le quel de nos dous  
Moi est sobrecoruz ciz dolz tant perihlous."

Euphrosine's father goes to his friend, the abbot Theodosius, imploring him to pray to God that he may find his daughter. The abbot does his best to console him:

Porhuec li proierons que par sa pieté  
Nos en face savoir se plaisir et se gre;  
Et tu remandras ore çdens en karité,  
Et diras de t'acointe a la fraternité.  
Om dolereus ne doit estre en *soltiveté*.  
Li frere te feront mut bele humilité.  
Se ci ne prens conseil, et confor enver Dé,  
Ja par home vivant ne l'aras mais trové.<sup>29</sup>

planted from theological writings into the vernacular" (*angeliel, celestiel, glorië, juïse, paraïs*); "words belonging to the general vocabulary of a clerk" (*contrarie, delicius, juvenil, materie, savie, secrei*). *Soltif* to be sure belongs to the first of these categories.

<sup>28</sup> *Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*, ed. R. T. Hill, *Romanic Review*, X, pp. 159-69, 190-232; XII, pp. 44-9.

<sup>29</sup> It is not for nothing that *soltif* occurs in this Life as many as three times. In the belief of the editor, "the usual retention of the hiatus vowel in the interior of words, the careful distinction of the nom. and acc. in the declension and the absence of -e in the pr. 1 of the verbs of the first conjugation indicate that the poem was written as early as 1200." However, the text abounds in superlatively archaic features; its extant form may have evolved out of an original going back to the middle or even the beginning of the twelfth century. These criteria include:

(a) The presence of words otherwise unknown to or exceedingly rare in Old French: *amelif* (123), *anele* (448), *coronele* (452), *miroele* (592),

(6) Marie de France, *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*,<sup>30</sup> v. 785:

Before penetrating into the caverns of Hell, the knight meets fifteen messengers of God who provide him with all necessary advice:

*misel* "wretched" (1110), *novelage* (804), *ordinison* (513), *ovrete* (369), *paban* (236), *parentor* (598);

(b) The presence of words particularly used 1100-1150: *amiér* (163), *contor* (18), *convers* (652), *devisement* (296), *die* "day" (244), *fianços* (756), *orphenin* (113, 912), *to(s)tens* (247, 319, 629);

(c) The presence of words more frequently found before 1175 than afterward: *tens ancienor*, *aziros*, *cieu*, *di*, *egroté*, *s'esperir*, *a estros*, *manois*, *mercible*, *mergelhier*, *mescin*, *maltris*, *miserin*, *novelier*, *nobilité*, *oblie*, *poverin*, *a reus*, *sevelir*, *sourdoloir*, *tozdis*, *vias*;

(d) Insertion of unjustified Latinisms such as *cap* (521), *car* (603), *infer* (607), *uxor* (180, 198, 381) instead of *chief*, *char*, *enfer*, *oissour*. Compare *sanc*, *infans*, *bona*, *juvent*, *abbas*, *perfectus*, *fid*, *gratia*, *ira*, *missae*, *cap*, etc. in *Saint Léger*, ed. J. Linskell (Paris, 1927).

(e) Words remarkable on account of their form:

1. Nouns: *glise* "church" (106, 509, 566, etc.), as in *Saint Alexis*, *Li Ver del Juise*. *Segre* instead of *suire* (669, 673, 773); cf. *soegre* in *Ducs de Normandie*. *Dé* in rhymes, otherwise *Deu*.

2. Adjectives: trisyllabic *gentior* (11, 332) in contrast to OFr. *dolcor*, *gencor*, *halcor*, *forcor*, etc.

3. Pronouns: *frere*, *ne t'esmaier de travas d'este vie* (890), a form this poem shares with *Oaths. Passion, Alexis, Troie*.

4. Particles: unstressed *non* (198), (*non*)*porhuc* (639, 832).

5. Verbs: *frat* (350) "he will make," cf. *Psalter of Cambridge*, *Dialogues, Livres des Rois*. *La bele Eufrosine, nuz de nos ne la vire* (679) < *vidérat* (misinterpreted by Mr. Hill); the last relics of this tense were heretofore believed to be *Alexis* 125, *Thebes* 8537 (E. Gamillscheg, *Romanische Tempuslehre* [Wien, 1913], p. 179; P. Fouché, *Le Verbe Français* [Paris, 1931], p. 329).

(f) Words significant on account of their meaning or function: adjectival *alcant* (528), otherwise restricted to Ph. de Thaïn (T.-L.); *homes folious* (528), *vasal folious* (749)—the word was subsequently applied only to debauched women; *reclamat Damledeus et les sues virtus* (1096) recalls *Roland*, 3694: *Deus et sus nuns*, discussed by Professor L. Spitzer, *PMLA*, LVI, 13-42.

(g) Archaic syntactic constructions. Enclitic collocations: *soffre.I* (965), *face.I* (150), *entre.s* (888). Wealth of expressions for the possessive relation: *en la Deu coronele* (452) beside circumlocutions by *a* (138) and *de* (917) and juxtapositions (516). Emphatic word-order in: *s'ereditet la riche at al mostier donee* (1244), traced back by Professor E. Lerch to Church Latin *Babylon illa magna* (*ZRPh*, LX, 113-90), cf. *en roge mer la grant la passerez parmi* (*Li Ver del Juise*, ed. H. v. Feilitzen [Upsala, 1882], v. 99).

(h) Versification: The scheme of monorhymed stanzas bears close resemblance to *Saint Alexis* and the *Alexander Fragment*.

(i) Structure: reminiscent of *Saint Alexis* as analyzed by E. R. Curtius (*ZRPh*, LVI, 113-37). Common features include: the lamenting of the missing hero; failure of the parents to recognize their child; relation between mother and wife, and father and fiancé, respectively; "epic" style, and the like.

The combined evidence of these features, with which the strikingly frequent occurrence of *soltif* agrees excellently, would speak in favor of an early dating.

<sup>30</sup> *Das Buch vom Espurgatoire der Marie de France und seine Quelle*, ed. Karl Warnke (Halle, 1938), Bibl. Norm. IX. The translation of *soltif*

Apres cele beneeiçun  
 S'en departirent li barun.  
 Li chevaliers remest *sultis*  
 Aparilliez et ententis  
 De novele bataille emprendre  
 Par quei puisse a Deu l'alme rendre.<sup>31</sup>

It is only natural that *soltif*, once it was in current use among clerks, should have seeped down into other domains of ecclesiastical and didactic literature. Thus, it occurs in:

(1) Adgar, *Legendes de Marie*,<sup>32</sup> p. 167, v. 379:

A devotee of the Virgin succeeds in persuading a beautiful girl to forsake all the pleasures of earthly life so that her soul may be saved:

Ses paroles ne prist en vain,  
 Od ses aveirs devint nunain.  
 Nunain devint en un mustier,  
 Si servi Deu de cuer entier.  
 Puis coveita par bone envie  
 Demener plus estreite vie.  
 En une celle entra *sultive*,  
 De Deu servir forment pensive.  
 Mult seinte vie i demena  
 Bien sai que Damnedeus l'ama.<sup>33</sup>

(2) *L'Évangile de Nicodème*,<sup>34</sup> B, v. 1716:

David sings a hymn in praise of God:

De lui ira la connoissance  
 Par tot le mont, quer Diex le pere

in the glossary is incorrect. In the edition of T. A. Jenkins (Chicago, 1903), no translation at all is given. Since the Latin text underlying this work runs: *pro viris itaque istis remanet ibi miles solus* (p. 56), the poet in choosing *soutif* surely was conscious of its connection with *solus*.

<sup>31</sup> *Li chevaliers remest sultis* contrasts with: *Li chevaliers fu remes suls*, *Pensis esteit e anguissus* (*Guigemar* 393 in *Marie de France, Lais*, ed. K. Warnke [Halle, 1885]) and: *En une chambre fu tus suls, Pensis esteit e anguissus* (*ibid.*, *Lanval*, v. 339). If Biller, *op. cit.*, p. 55, is correct in referring to these latter passages in support of his theory of early standardized fixed "formulas," the poet is all the more commendable for having ingeniously distinguished between the epic and religious style, and for having decided—against her own usage—on *soltif* instead of *sol* in a saint's life.

<sup>32</sup> Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, ed. C. Neuhaus (Heilbronn, 1866) Afrz. Bibl. 9.

<sup>33</sup> W. Rolfs, "Die Adgarlegenden," *Roman. Forsch.*, I (1883), has produced ample evidence that the work was written by an Anglo-Norman clerk as early as 1160 (pp. 183-93).

<sup>34</sup> *Trois Versions Rimées de l'Évangile de Nicodème*, ed. G. Paris et A. Bos (Paris, 1885), SATF.

Veut que par tot le mont apere  
 Sa poosté & sa justise.  
 La promesse qu'avoit pramise  
 As fiz Israel nos rent hui;  
 Soutif remaint, enfer & vui.<sup>85</sup>

(3) Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*,<sup>86</sup> v. 2767:

Having described the habits of a coot (*fullica*), the poet draws a parallel between the way of life of this bird and that of a hermit:

Oisels de tel baillie  
 Saint ume signefie  
 Ki onestement vit  
 Issi cum Davit dit,  
 Ki char laisse a mangier  
 Pur sa char chastier,  
 E ki pur bien urer  
 Sultifment volt ester,  
 Ki est *sultivement*,  
 Dé prie escordement  
 Se il en at talent,  
 Co est demustumrement.  
 Le ni qu'en eve fait  
 U sur pierre le lait,  
 Li niz est lius qu'abite  
 U sainz om u ermite.<sup>87</sup>

Occasional blending of popular and learned currents in literature was of necessity paralleled by the migration of individual words from one stratum to the other. Hence the presence of *soltif* in an epic can lend additional weight to the literary evidence that the author of this epic was conversant both with the code of chivalry and with ecclesiastical life. This, for instance, is exactly the conclusion at which the editor of the *Yder Romance* has arrived on the ground of a scrupulous analysis of the style.<sup>88</sup> Discovery of

<sup>85</sup> If, in C 686, *seditiosus* is rendered by *sustif*, this is, of course, a distorted *soutif*.

<sup>86</sup> Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, ed. E. Walberg (Lund-Paris, 1900).

<sup>87</sup> According to A. Dauzat, *Dict. Étym.*, the first occurrence of *sotil* is in *Computus*. L. Fenge, *Sprachliche Untersuchung der Reime des Computus* (Marburg, 1888), Augs. & Abh. 55, gives *sutilis* 1204; *sutilment* 1466, 3032; *sutilitet* 852, 1370 in his glossary. If so, the basic form of *sultiz* (*Bestiaire* 541) also must be in *-il*; Walberg has vacillated between *-if* and *-il* (p. 165). The only graph difficult to account for is *Bestiaire* 2653: *Li saveir est viande* *Que sainte anne demande E la sainte escripture Est a l'anme pulture Ki la volt essercier E sultifment traitier*. The meaning is obviously "clever," and the poet had in mind *sutilment*. The scribal error is all the easier to understand as the subject of these lines, the life of a holy man, provided an association with *sultif*.

<sup>88</sup> *Der altfranzoesische Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer (Dresden, 1913), GRL 31.

*soltif* in this text can thus serve as further proof of the correctness of his argument:

In the midst of impassable woodland Yder's party has reached an enchanted castle haunted by two ruthless giants, who from this stronghold ravage the neighborhood:

v. 5412 Tant erra que a malverne vint.  
 De set liwes entor n'ot genz,  
 Al bois vienent, si entrent enz,  
 Et tant ont le chemin tenu  
 Que a la fort maison sunt venu  
 Ou li dui giant repairoent . . . .

v. 5437 Il veit la cort laide e *soutive*,  
 Sor le degré out une eschive,  
 Large la vit com un portal . . . .

v. 5494 Il entre en la cort enhermie,  
 Al degré descent del destrier,  
 Quant il ne troeve o attachier.  
 N'il n'a esquier ne garçon,  
 La reigne passe ultre l'arçon,  
 Lors n'a garde qu'il puis se moeve.

Mention has already been made of the occurrence of *soltif* in *Blancandin*<sup>39</sup> and *Sept Sages*.<sup>40</sup> Its penetration into popular epics

<sup>39</sup> In *Li Romanz de Floire et Blancheflor*, ed. F. Krueger (Berlin, 1938), Version ii, v. 1437: *Font un tombel apareillier, De marbre le fist entaillier; Oiseaus et bestes et peintures Et de soltis tresgiteüres L'unt entaillie par de defors*, the editor's translation "nebenbei, heimlich" is evidently wrong; the word reflects *subtilis* and is equivalent to "kunstvoll."

<sup>40</sup> It is in this work, too, that occurs the exceedingly rare derivative *asotiver* "to abandon," omitted by Tobler-Lommatsch (v. 1242 ed. Misrahi). The situation is as follows: three nurses are guilty of leaving a child entrusted to them alone in his cradle:

A tant s'en montent halt au mur Che dut estre lor maleür  
 Quar el mur ot d'anceserie, Que mains hom l'i avoit choisié,  
 Un felon serpent, Sathanas, En une creveüre en bas.  
 Li serpens de che mur avale Et vit toute vuide la sale.  
 La noise oi emmi la pree, Et vit la sale *asostivee*.

The editor correctly recognized the meaning of the word (in contrast to A. Keller who misread *asostinee*), pointing out that the unjustified use of *s* was an inverted spelling characteristic of the Eastern dialect. Another explanation would be the assumption of a purposeful use of *sos-* as a prefix. There is a consensus of all scholars that a French prototype of this legend must have existed by 1150. Frequent use of *soltif* would then be in harmony with the usage of Philippe de Thaün and Adgar.

Over against this word stand derivatives from *sotil*: *asotillance* "delicacy" (*Die altfrz. Motette der Bamberger Handschrift*, ed. A. Stimming [Dresden, 1906], GRL 13, Mue IX, 4) and *s'assotillier* "to endeavor" (Philippe de Novarre, *Les quatre ages de l'homme*, ed. M. de Freville [Paris, 1888], § 137) and "to make thin" (as late as M. Scève, *Délie*, 402: *La roue enfin le fer assubtilie, Et le rend apte a trancher la durté*, quoted by Huguet).

is irrefutably borne out by the above cited passage from *Li Loherenc*. Application to secular literature of a word fraught with reminiscences of hermitical life was perhaps a deliberate device to add to the gruesome atmosphere of abandonment and deathlike silence which the poets were eager to evoke.

### III

How do these facts about the use of *soltif* agree with the general development of its family in Romance? Repeated attempts have been made in Late Latin to differentiate the multiple shadings of *solus*, which for a lexical unit covered a very wide field. In part, the varying word-order as exemplified by Sp. *una sola mujer* beside *una mujer sola* provided for semantic segregation. The coinage of new derivatives was in the long run of more lasting effect; each of them was designed to render a definite shading of the primitive. It is only natural that the most emphatic of these nuances, signifying "solitary," should have been the foremost in stimulating the creative impulse of the Latins. This urge gave rise to diversified combinations of the stem with suffixes. A number of these derivatives have survived to this day, but none was felicitous enough to spread over the whole Empire; each prevailed in a clearly circumscribed area. *Solingu* obtained on Italian soil.<sup>41</sup> *Solitariu* persisted in the Spanish Peninsula, but suffered its connotation to be narrowed down to "bachelor," while *\*solitoso* seems to have arisen in Portuguese alone (*soïdoso>saudoso*),<sup>42</sup> through the medium of which it ultimately passed into Castilian (*soledoso*). *Solitan(e)u*, finally, was proper to the Gallo-Romance district. It is from this

<sup>41</sup> See REW<sup>a</sup> 8080. The most recent research into *-ingo* by Mr. J. U. Hubschmied in *Mélanges Durafour* is not yet available in this country. The development in Log. *sulone* "boar" shows a striking resemblance to the course taken by Fr. *sanglier* < *singulare*.

<sup>42</sup> Apart from *saudoso*, Portuguese has preserved *saudade* "sweet nostalgia," "joy of grief," reputedly characteristic of the mental attitude of that nation. These words have confronted the scholars with a variety of problems; see the *Dicionário Etimológico* of A. Nascentes. Today, there is substantial agreement on the correctness of the view of C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, who explained *saudade* as a contamination of OPtg. *súidade* < *sólite* and OPtg. *sáuidade* < *\*salutate* (*A saudade portuguesa*, Pôrto, pp. 49-72). The literary background of this development has been recently investigated by K. Vossler, *Die Poesie der Einsamkeit in Spanien*, pp. 7-23.

There is a high common measure of agreement between the contamination of derivatives of *solus* with the *salv-* family in Portuguese and with *subitus* and *subtilis* in French. Both languages distinguished themselves by more radical phonological changes than did the interlying varieties of Romance. It would seem, then, that there was an inherent affinity in the *solus* group with some of the adjacent fields, which materialized wherever a lively phonological development helped to blur the frontier-lines between the individual word-families.

formation that a base *solt-* could be abstracted, from which *soltif*, in its turn, may have branched off.<sup>43</sup>

However, it is not inherently improbable that *soltif* may have evolved out of a back-formation from *solitare*.<sup>44</sup> True, this latter was not very common, at least not in written Latin, and throughout its intermittent appearances it continued to be overshadowed by *solitudo*. According to the information of ThLL passed on by Vossler, this word was used by no more than three writers, who may even have invented it independently of each other: Accius, Apuleius, and Tertullian. The latter was obviously prompted to use it by his susceptibility to rhythmical parallelism. For a writer of his resourcefulness, it could not have been a matter of insuperable difficulty to find an effective rendition for *μονότης καὶ ἐνότης*, and so he may have hit upon the idea of re-echoing *unitas* with *solitas*. Be that as it may, *solitare* surely survived in Ibero-Romance in close companionship with native and learned descendants of *solitudine*. Whether it was able to take root for a while on French soil as well, can at best only be conjectured, but if so, its relation to *\*solitivu* would have been essentially the same as that of Ptg. *caridade* to *caridoso*.<sup>45</sup>

However, it would appear safer to assume not a hypothetical, but an actually extant word such as *soutain* as the parting point for *soutif*, which may then have been arrived at by way of suffix-change. On this theory, the impulse to a spontaneous shift, i.e., the reluctance to use *-ain*, and the wide appeal of *-if*, would first have to be accounted for.

*Soutain* belonged to a particular stock of the vocabulary. It was of infrequent occurrence and served mainly to convey the horror

<sup>43</sup> A rare formation in Franco-Italian is *solier*, which, unless it reflects a widening of *solus* after the pattern *primus*: *primarius*, represents an awkward formation by a would-be-French-speaking Italian: *L'enperaor de Rome Ki me doit toudre por moiler Et puis me laisdera solier* (*Altfranzoesisch-Veronesische Fassung der Legende der Heiligen Katharina von Alexandrien*, ed. H. Breuer, *ZRPh*, Beiheft 53 [Halle, 1919], v. 684).

<sup>44</sup> There even exists the further possibility of connecting *soltif* with a pseudo-participial formation of the OFr. *foilli*, Sp. *dolorido* type, viz. *seuti "solitaire, retiré"* in Gui de Cambrai, *Le Vengement Alixandre*, ed. B. Edwards, Elliott Mon., 23 (Princeton-Paris, 1928), var. of J. 88. The work was composed "before 1191."

<sup>45</sup> See the controversy between J. H. D. Allen Jr., *Language*, XVI (1940), 157-60, and L. Spitzer, *ibid.*, XVII (1941), 50-3. The former surmised that haplology of *-at-* took place in Vulgar Latin, the latter suggested that a hybrid formation *xapt-osu*, mistaken for *caritosu*, may have acted as a leader word "through its impact on religious life," paving the way for *soidoso*, *curgidoso*, and the like. Once the addition of *-osu* to what appeared a shortened stem became feasible, no further obstacle needed to be overcome for treating in like manner *-ivu* and other competitive endings. Hence OFr. *poest(e)if*, etc.

and awe with which the mediaeval European viewed the realm of unperturbed, supernatural solitude. Thus, *terre soutaine* could ultimately be identified with Hell.<sup>46</sup> The same word, when applied to enchanted forests, haunted castles, deserted heaths, or gruesome valleys, turned out to be of invaluable help in conjuring up the atmosphere of magic landscapes.<sup>47</sup>

Now, it so happened that the suffix *-ain* added nothing to this lofty and in a certain sense religious conception of loneliness. A suffix ordinarily draws its value from the meaning of the stems with which it is most frequently combined and consequently associated. As *-anus* was primarily used in deriving *nomina gentilicia*, it was doomed to remain a colorless element. The *-aneus* variety, itself the outcome of an occasional contamination of *-anus* and *-eus*, was represented by an insignificant group of isolated words such as *longitaneus*, *subitaneus*, after which *solitaneus* seems to have been patterned in Late Latin.

On the other hand, the sudden growth of *-ivu* in Church Latin following its partial identification in function with *-ιος*<sup>48</sup> could not help but attract all adjectives describing the religious sphere. Accordingly, *-if* appears in Old French on the same footing as a number of semi-learned morphemes supposed to have poured into the vernacular through the channels of early ecclesiastical activities, either preaching or writing, like *-or* in *ancienor*, *-isme* in *saintisme*, or the nominative-stressed *povérite*. There exist at least as many as seventy formations which certainly cannot be laid at the doors of

<sup>46</sup> *Alexander Romance*, branch iv, 1259. The writer takes pleasure in acknowledging to Professor E. C. Armstrong his indebtedness for this reference.

<sup>47</sup> *Moniage Guillaume*, ed. W. Cloetta (Paris, 1906-11), SATF, line 1155: *la valee soutaigne*; line 1165: *le val soutaigne*. In *Chrestien de Troyes*, the word occurs in a variety of forms: *soutain* (*Graal* 1703 V, 7225 V); *sostain* (*Cligés* 5564, *Graal* 75, 1703); *soltainement* (*Erec* 6338 V); see Foerster-Breuer, *Woerterbuch*, s. v. *Les Merveilles de Rigomer*, ed. W. Foerster-H. Breuer (Dresden, 1908-15), GRL 19, 39, v. 7825: *en la Lande Sotaine*; v. 8212: *Dist li preudom: j'ai non Robers. Et mes castiaus Sotain Herbers. Le Haut livre du Graal*, ed. W. A. Nitze-T. Atkinson Jenkins (Chicago, 1932-7), line 3310: *la forest estoit estrange e soutaine*; line 3582: *ceste forest est molt soutaigne*; line 9267: *Forest Soutaine*; see the note in vol. II, p. 289. Further examples are quoted by Foerster on p. 157 of *Lyoner Ysopet*.

Note the transitional nuance of *sotif* "weird" in *Rigomer*, v. 10781: *En une grant fories foillie Truevent une lande florie. Quant entré furent en la lande Gavains a s'amie demande: "Quant troverons nous aventure?" - "Sire, fait ele, or n'aïés cure! Se vos plait et vos comandés, Aventure que demandés Troverés vos asés sotive En ceste foriest qu'est antive."*

<sup>48</sup> In the oldest stratum of Church Latin, *-ivus* was less favored than *-alis* and *-abilis*, see C. Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin* (Nijmegen, 1932), pp. 252-3. Its vogue dates roughly from Boethius and extends well beyond Thomas Aquinas; see this writer's "Developments of *-ivu* in Latin and Romance," *Language*, XVII (1941), 99-118.

Latinizing tendencies and which mostly antedate the time of increased learning in France. Among the most noteworthy, but not necessarily best known are:

*aaisif*,<sup>49</sup> *a(h)atif*, *aidif*, *aisif*, *alentif*,<sup>50</sup> *amaladif*,<sup>51</sup> *ame(s)lif*,<sup>52</sup> *anchif*,<sup>53</sup> *angoissif*, *antif*,<sup>54</sup> *apensif*, *arestif*,<sup>55</sup> *baif*,<sup>56</sup> *batif*,<sup>57</sup> *boisif*, *bont(e)if*,<sup>58</sup> *braidif*,<sup>59</sup> *brandif*,<sup>60</sup> *brutif*,<sup>61</sup> *clamif*,<sup>62</sup> *corsif*,<sup>63</sup> *delicatif*,<sup>64</sup> *donantif*, *doutif*, *empensif*, *entalentif*,<sup>65</sup> *entaitif*,<sup>66</sup> *entencif*,<sup>67</sup> *ententif*, *esforcif*,<sup>68</sup> *estaif*,<sup>69</sup> *faidif*,<sup>70</sup> *faintif*,<sup>71</sup> *fortif*,<sup>72</sup> *fuitif*,<sup>73</sup> *haif*,

<sup>49</sup> *Le Haut Livre du Graal*, lines 3116, 4611.

<sup>50</sup> *Der festlaendische Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung II, ed. A. Stimming (Dresden, 1918), GRL 41, v. 15179.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 12599.

<sup>52</sup> *Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*, v. 123; the word derives not from *amieler* (R. T. Hill), but from *amesler*, found in *Philippe Mousket*.

<sup>53</sup> *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci*, ed. J. E. Matzke (Paris, 1936), SATF, lines 5586, 5697: "résultat d'un croisement antif, -iu x anchien."

<sup>54</sup> Comparable to the vacillation between *-ic* and *-if* is the confusion between *bellic* "red" and *bellif* "wry" as watched by Foerster in *Karrenritter*, gr. Ausg., p. 414. Was Suchier correct in tracing back *antis* in v. 572 of so early a poem as *La Chanson de Guillaume* (Halle, 1911) to a base in *-if* in the face of *antic*, *mendic*, *Fragment d'Alexandre*, vv. 11, 14?

<sup>55</sup> *Clegés*, ed. Foerster (Halle, 1910), Rom. Bibl. 1, v. 5174 V.

<sup>56</sup> Add to Tobler-Lommatsch *Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*, v. 158.

<sup>57</sup> *Batif comme un beau plastron* (Eloi d'Amerval, "Deablerie," Rom. Forsch., XXVI, 324), quoted by Jeanroy in Jean Bodel, *Le Jeu de St. Nicolas* (Paris, 1925), CFMA, à propos of conjectured *bateiç*, v. 626.

<sup>58</sup> Additional examples are: *Manekin*, vv. 5724, 7308, 8322 (Ph. de Beau-manoir, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. H. Suchier [Paris, 1885], SATF); *Castelain de Couci*, lines 183, 434.

<sup>59</sup> *Yder*, v. 1891; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1897), v. 6531.

<sup>60</sup> W. v. Wartburg, FEW I, 491 "fougueux, ardent."

<sup>61</sup> This word-family was in use as late as the 16th century: *brutif* occurs in Calvin and Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, *brutiveté* in De Baif, *brutivement* in *Satire Ménipée* (Huguet).

<sup>62</sup> Add to Tobler-Lommatsch *Li Quatre Livre des Reis*, p. 117-8.

<sup>63</sup> "Race Horse"; cf. *Eine afz. moralisierende Bearbeitung von Liber de monstruosis hominibus Orientis*, ed. A. Hilka (1933), line 1544.

<sup>64</sup> *La fille du comte de Poitieu*, ed. C. Brunel (Paris, 1923), SATF, p. 106.

<sup>65</sup> *Crystal et Clarie*, ed. F. Apfelstedt, H. v. Feilitzen, H. Breuer (Dresden, 1915), GRL, v. 508.

<sup>66</sup> Gautier d'Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1891), Rom. Bibl. 7, v. 4065: *Biaz Sire, je sui la caitive Qui tant ai este entaitive De vos cerquier de tere en tere*. Foerster derived this word from *entait-* *< intactu* (p. 217).

<sup>67</sup> "Quarrelsome": Benoit de Sainte More, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1904-12), SATF, v. 19756.

<sup>68</sup> "Rigorous," *ibid.*, v. 12331.

<sup>69</sup> Add to Godefroy *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, vv. 7714, 11784.

<sup>70</sup> W. v. Wartburg, FEW III, 375.

<sup>71</sup> *Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*, v. 122.

<sup>72</sup> According to F. Brunot, cited by FEW III, 839, *fuitif* was in use as late as the 17th century.

*hardif*,<sup>73</sup> *hastif*, *jolif*, *lentif*,<sup>74</sup> *mal(a)aisif*,<sup>75</sup> *malplaidif*,<sup>76</sup> *maltalenti*,<sup>77</sup> *matif*,<sup>78</sup> *mendif*,<sup>79</sup> *meslis*,<sup>80</sup> *naif*, *noisif*, *nuisif*, *paisif*, *penif*,<sup>81</sup> *pensif*,<sup>82</sup> *pesantif*, *plaidif*,<sup>83</sup> *plaintif*,<sup>84</sup> *plent(e)if*, *poëst(e)if*, *ragif*,<sup>85</sup> *restif*, *sant(e)if*, *songif*, *talentif*, *tardif*, *taschif*, *tostif*,<sup>86</sup> *trenchif*, *trespensif*,<sup>87</sup> *u(s)dif*,<sup>88</sup> *volent(er)if*.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Quoted by M. Regula, "Etymologische Studien an der Hand des REW," *ZRPh*, XLIII, 7.

<sup>74</sup> Renclus de Moiliens, *Li Romans de Carité* 110, 8; *Miserere* 27,1 (ed. A. G. van Hamel [Paris, 1885], BEHE 61-62). Old French knew the construction *estre lentif* de "être lent à."

<sup>75</sup> *Le Haut Livre du Graal*, line 3226.

<sup>76</sup> "Person of quarrelsome disposition": *Le Roman des Romans*, ed. T. C. Lecompte, Elliott Monograph 14 (Princeton-Paris, 1923), line 282.

<sup>77</sup> "Irritated": *Roman de Troie*, v. 12810.

<sup>78</sup> Herbert Le Duc de Danmartin, *Folque de Candie*, ed. O. Schultz-Gora (Dresden, 1909-1915; Jena, 1936) GRL 21, 38, 49, v. 7969: *ne vienent mie matif ne embrunchant*.

<sup>79</sup> Guernes de Pont Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. E. Walberg (Lund, 1922), v. 3057.

<sup>80</sup> *Sermon en Vers*, ed. F. J. Tanquerey (Paris, 1922), v. 1067.

<sup>81</sup> Jean Renart, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, ed. J. Bédier (Paris, 1913), SATF, v. 93: *peniu d'armes* "qui se passionne au jeu des armes." See *Folque de Candie*, v. 5365; *Yvain*, v. 445 V; also Godefroy (*Horn*).

<sup>82</sup> Very effectively used by the author of the Oxford Version of *Folie Tristan* (ed. J. Bédier [Paris, 1902], SATF) to prepare the reader for the sombre atmosphere of the poem: *Tristan surjurne en sun pais Dolent, murnes, tristes, pensis; Mais certes la raine Ysolt Pensive est mult, cum ele soit; En sa chambre vent mult pensive, Dolente se clame et chaitive.*

<sup>83</sup> *L'Estoire Joseph* (composed by 1150), ed. E. Sass (Dresden, 1906), GRL 12, v. 1217.

<sup>84</sup> "Plaintiff": *Roman des Romans*, v. 797; "unfortunate": E. Deschamps, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. G. Raynaud, SATF, I, 282.

<sup>85</sup> *Erec*, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1890), v. 1398.

<sup>86</sup> Conjectured from *costif* in *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (ed. E. Koschwitz) by Mr. Raphael Levy in *Romania*, LXIV (1938), 102-4.

<sup>87</sup> *Die alfranzösischen Motette . . .* W XI, 1.

<sup>88</sup> Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, p. 25, v. 200 (see note of W. Foerster p. 242); cf. *oidif*, *oidivesce* in Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire*, v. 3676, 3648. Otherwise the noun was *la haiseuse* < *otiosa* (e.g., Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette*, ed. D. L. Buffum [Paris, 1928], SATF, v. 1221). *Par haiseuse* was equivalent to "at leisure": Conon de Béthune, *Chansons*, ed. A. Wallenskoeld (Paris, 1921), CFMA, IV, 41; a similar formation would be *gregoyse* "difficulty" in *Die beiden Buecher der Makkabaeer*, ed. E. Goerlich (Halle, 1888), Rom. Bibl., II, 25, correctly interpreted by W. Foerster (p. 111) as <*greviosa*. An interesting noun in *-iva*, *oidive* "laziness" occurs in Marie de France, G. de Coinci, *Wace*; the verb *oidiver* "faire l'oisif" is found in Renclus de Moiliens, *Carité*, 114, 12; 119, 3; 151, 8.

<sup>89</sup> The form with *-er* betraying the interference of the derivative in *-ariu* is found in *Troie*, v. 12305.

No such word as *persif* has existed, in contrast to the statement of the glossary to *Der festlaendische Bueue de Hantone*, Fassung III, ed. A. Stimming (Dresden, 1914-20), GRL 34, 42. The line in question reads: *Rois Danebruns, li amirals persis* (v. 1556). The basic form *persi* is modelled after *arrabi*; other vestiges of this Semitic ending are Sp. *marroqui*, Engl. *Iraqi*.

A scribal error characteristic of the popularity of *-if* following an *s* is *estre saisi(f) de* in *Cristal et Clarie*, v. 2492. Reduction of *grief* to *grif* (instead of to *gref* as in *Folie Tristan*, Oxf. v. 552), will be found in Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier (Paris, 1902), SATF, v. 354.

It should be noted that these formations abound in texts assigned to the middle of the twelfth century such as *Brut*, *Thebes*, *Eneas*, *Troie*. In other words, *-if* happened to display an unusual vitality precisely at the moment when the *solt-* stem was at its zenith. Radical and suffix were congenial through their common bearing on the religious sphere. A further weighty reason for their mutual attraction can be found in the fact that one of the characteristic lines along which *-if* seems to have spread was by joining primitives ending in a dental consonant.<sup>90</sup> *Soltain* is all the more likely to have tended to disengage a substitute form as by virtue of convergent phonological developments, a conflict began to loom between *solitanu* > *soltain* (> *soutain*) and *subitanu* > *sotain* (> *soutain*).<sup>91</sup> The literary scene in France was favorable to such a modification. Thus, *soltif* may have split off *soltain* sometime in the course of the eleventh century, well within the domain of French, and no recourse need be had to a hypothetical *\*solitivu*, unknown to Du Cange.<sup>92</sup>

Hardly, however, had the *solt-* derivative had a narrow escape from collision with the *subitus* family, when it faced the new threat of being brought into the orbit of *subtilis*. On the analogy of a host of words in *-tif* (*bontif*, *cautif*, *doutif*, etc.) the few scattered words in *-til* (*enfantil*, *hostil*, *soutil*) were naturally exposed to the danger of attraction by the stronger ending. Once *soutif* "astute" had come into existence, it could not help affecting the course of *soltif* > *soutif* "lonesome." The elimination of one of the two words then became a practicable expedient to evade equivocation.

This is not tantamount to asserting that the disappearance of either homonym was the immediate and inevitable sequel of their conflict. It would, indeed, be hazardous to transfer the methods of Gilliéron from the sphere of plants, animals, and tools, where they do hold good to a certain extent, to the sphere of abstract notions.

<sup>90</sup> This is due to the previous connection of *-ieu* with the past participle.

<sup>91</sup> The outgrowth of *subitanu* in Old French was *sotain* beside *sodain*, much the same as *sotement* was paralleled by *sodement* and *desoude*. "Eine Einteilung der stimmhaften und stimmlosen Formen nach Landschaften verbietet sich von selbst" (Eva Seifert, *Zur Entwicklung der Proparoxytona auf *'ite*, *'ita*, *'itu** (Diss., Berlin, 1919), p. 107. The Old Provençal equivalent was *soldan*, see REW<sup>a</sup> 8070 and C. Appel, *Provenzalische Lautlehre* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 47. On the etymology of *desoteement*, see Foerster in *Lyoner Ysopet*, p. 157-8.

<sup>92</sup> Chronological data on the development of *l* before consonants in French, essential to the understanding of the conflict between *soltain* and *sotain*, will be found in Meyer-Luebke, *Die Schicksale des lateinischen l im Romanischen*, 1934 (Berichte ueber die Verhandlungen der Saechsischen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, LXXXVI, Heft 2, pp. 73-4). If the change of *l* into *u* was completed in the twelfth century, Georg Cohn, *Die Suffixwandelungen im Vulgarlatein und im vorliterarischen Franzoesisch* (Halle, 1891), was right in excluding this suffix-shift from his discussion of similar phenomena in pre-literary French.

In this territory, we can mostly expect interpenetration of the semantic areas of the two words affected, or at least an attempt at such a compensation, rather than the outright victory of the stronger and the withdrawal of the weaker. When, for instance, the outgrowths of *gattus* "cat" and *gallus* "rooster" became homonyms in a certain dialectal zone, this state of affairs involved the inconvenience of frequent equivocations, since both words were used for domestic animals living side by side. On the other hand, the two words could not contaminate each other, since a cat always remains a cat and a rooster, a rooster. The joint weight of these two circumstances led to the substitution of a new word for the less resistant of the two competitors. This would not necessarily be the case with two abstracts, since imagination is subtle enough to figure out transitions of conceptions as suggested by fortuitous similarity of words, thus effecting crossings which nature could not allow in a biological sense. Hence, between "lonesome" and "astute," irreconcilable though they may appear at first glance, a whole gamut of intermediate shades of meaning, ranging from "hidden," "concealed" to "discreet," "reticent," "taciturn," could easily present themselves, all of which to some extent partake of the sphere of either word. This is what actually seems to have occurred. The two words, brought into contact, for a while could occasionally combine by merging into each other. It is true that this amalgamation did not assert itself in the long run.

The cases where this intermediate nuance seems to be involved include:

(1) *Cristal et Clarie*,<sup>93</sup> v. 17:

Mais die li si *soltilment*  
Que il n'en soit repris noiant.

(2) *Florimont*,<sup>94</sup> v. 5657:

C'il me welt un poc esgarder  
Et il soit saiges, sens parler  
Li mousterrai ge *sutilment*  
Ceu que je wel, sans parlement.

(3) *Florimont*, v. 6185:

La pucele mout doucement  
Non pas de droit, mais *sutilment*  
Esgardoit le Povre perdu.

<sup>93</sup> *Cristal et Clarie*, ed. F. Apfelstedt, H. v. Feilitzen, H. Breuer (Dresden, 1915), GRL.

<sup>94</sup> Aimon de Varennes, *Florimont*, ed. A. Hilka (Jena, 1932), GRL 48.

(4) Adgar, *Legendes de Marie*, p. 197, v. 109:

Cum il tindrent lur parlement  
Dous feiz el bois *sultivement*,  
Cum le fluvie a ses piez passa,  
Cum Zozimas l'acumunia,  
Cum l'an puis l'acumuniement  
L'a trové morte *sultivement*.

(5) *La Dame a la Licorne*,<sup>95</sup> v. 3292:

*Soutivement* i. messenger  
En envia par mi la mer.

(6) Wace, *Conception Nostre Dame*,<sup>96</sup> v. 1035:

Une semblance vos dirai:  
Issi cum li solelz sun rai  
Par la verrine met e trait  
Qu'a la verrine mal ne fait,  
Issi e molt plus *sotilment*  
Entra e issi chastement  
En Nostre Dame li fiz Dé.<sup>97</sup>

That the passage from "clever" to "secretive" in *soutif* is actually due to the encroachment of *sotil* on its sphere is clearly proved by the fact that in Castilian where no such overlap had taken place *sotil* does not seem ever to have approximated that meaning.<sup>98</sup> As a result of its immunity from external influences and accordingly its more limited scope, OSp. *sotil* fell short of the need of the language for the particular nuance "secretly," which had then to be provided for by a still unexplained development of *puritate* into *en poridad*.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Le Roman de la Dame a la Licorne*, ed. F. Genrich (Dresden, 1908), GRL 18.

<sup>96</sup> Wace, *Conception Nostre Dame*, ed. W. R. Ashford (Diss., Chicago, 1933), v. 1035 (discussed by H. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 703).

<sup>97</sup> In the following passages, the idea of taciturnity may be present by implication: *De mout soutif angin estoit, Po parloit, assez escotoit* (*La Vie Sainte Paule*, ed. K. Grass [Halle, 1908], Rom. Bibl., v. 988). *Ha! douce dame deboinaire, Li maus d'amours est si soutieus! Il muet dou coer, et par les ieus Est conceuz et par oyr* (*Castelain de Couci*, line 562).

<sup>98</sup> OSp. *sotil* (overlooked by REW<sup>a</sup>) and its derivatives in *-esa* and *-mentre* have developed a gamut of significations, in which this particular shade does not seem to have been included:

(a) "clever," "refined," "cultured" (*Libro de buen amor*, 96a, 156a, 323c; *Prim. Crón. Gen.*, § 188; *Libro de Alexandre*, P 1537d and O 1395d; *Conde Lucanor*, ed. Knust, p. 18);

(b) "intricate," "abstruse" (*Loores*, 165; *Prim. Crón. Gen.* § 319; *Libro de buen amor*, 65b);

(c) "elaborate," "ingenious" (*Poema de Fernán González*, 374c);

(d) "astute" (*Libro de buen amor*, 183a, 216c, 253c, 531c, 834d; *Rimado de Palacio*, 979, 1008; *Caballero Zifar*, ed. Wagner, p. 12).

<sup>99</sup> See R. Menéndez Pidal in: *Cantar de mio Cid* (Madrid, 1908-11), pp. 155, 805.

The situation in French which arose out of all these currents and crosscurrents was already intricate by the year 1150, as shown by the example from Wace; a few decades later, it became utterly complex. By way of literary perpetuation, *sotain* "solitary" was still in use (though perhaps no longer in living use) side by side with *sotain* "sudden." On the other hand, a secondary form *so(l)tif*, which had but recently evolved out of *so(l)tain*, was inextricably entangled in some extreme ramifications of *sotil* "clever," which at that very moment happened to undergo partial change into *sotif*. Midway between the two poles "lonesome" and "astute," which in the meantime did not cease to function, the compensatory value of "reticent," "discreet" was arrived at and tentatively used for a while. The intricacy of the situation was such as to permit the inverse use of *sotil* as "abandoned."<sup>100</sup> Moreover, since there existed two different varieties of *soutain*, one <\**solitanu* and the other <*subitanu*, and the former was interchangeable with *sotif*, the latter finally likewise developed an analogical form *sotif* "sudden," "hasty," "unstable."<sup>101</sup>

Under these circumstances, a clear-cut decision became imperative. If the aggregate of the formations thus hopelessly interlocking was to be saved from complete elimination, at least some of its most vulnerable portions had to be sacrificed to the natural impulse toward a minimum amount of ambiguity.

There was a manifest aversion to tolerating any further wavering, to accepting any compromise value, to acquiescing in any half-way solution. The amalgam of *sotif* and *sotil*, irretrievably merged in each other, was eventually to become the equivalent of either "clever" or "lonesome."

<sup>100</sup> See the above quoted examples from Godefroy and *Moniage Guillaume*, v. 2100: *Tant va li quens et arriere et avant, Qu'en un val entre mout soutil et mout grant.*

<sup>101</sup> *Dvě verše starofrancouzské legendy o Sv. Kateřině Alexandrinské* (Two Old French versions of the legend of Saint Catherine from Alexandria), ed. Jan Urban Jarník (Prague, 1894), v. 2271.

Saint Catherine, looking forward to being delivered to the torturers of the tyrant, prays to the Virgin, who consoles and encourages her:

Tu recevras un tel ami  
Pour ton espous que as guerpi  
De cui biauté li mons resplent  
Et si est roi de toute gent.  
Pour cest regne *subtif* e vain  
Recevras un regne certain,  
El quel onques dolor n'entra,  
Tot est delis que il i a.

The text clearly calls for a word fitting the idea of a realm of unstable, perishable, transitory things. The underlying idea is that of time passing away too rapidly to provide sufficient security for mankind. Hence, the word must be linked with the base *subitus*.

As a result of this reaction against protracted ambiguity, *sotif-sotil* in Middle French was actually restricted to the meaning of "astute." It was discarded as a synonym of "solitaire." The question may be raised, then, why things took just this, and not the opposite turn.

A glance at the early Middle French literature, inasmuch as it is representative of the new frame of mind of the French, may bring us somewhat closer to an understanding of this outcome. The most original *genre* of this period was unquestionably the *fabliau*. The mere fact that droll adventures (many of which are justly supposed to have circulated from time immemorial in France) were clad precisely at that epoch in the literary form of burlesque anecdotes, would show that the facetious, ludicrous style was somehow in the air.<sup>102</sup> There is no denying that this humorous trend in literature mirrors a new attitude and way of life proper to the French of the fourteenth century, who were gradually turning away from the heroic and monastic ideals of their ancestors to more earthly interests. The rise of mercantilism was another factor that contributed to the glorification of shrewdness.<sup>103</sup> In this atmosphere, a forceful word for "astute" could not be spared, one for "lonesome" easily could. Thus the vicissitudes of the conflict of two words correspond to the general cultural development of the respective linguistic community.

*University of California*

<sup>102</sup> "Le XIV<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle sont tristes. Les ruines apparaissent, et les germes sont cachés, surtout pour les contemporains. L'abandon, les défaillances des classes d'où l'on était habitué de recevoir une direction, le spectacle et les exemples de leur dégradation, répandent partout un matérialisme cynique, un scepticisme désolant, le culte de la force, de la ruse plus que de la force, du succès plus que de tout" (G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française* [Paris, 1903], p. 141).

<sup>103</sup> K. Vossler, *Frankreichs Kultur und Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 164-7; Leo Spitzer, "Aujourd'hui et jour," *Studies in Philology*, XXXVII (1940), pp. 565-584.

## COMMENT

November 17, 1942

Dear Sir:

Would you allow me to point out what I think is misleading in the remarks made by M. Henry S. Lucas in his review of my *Guide bibliographique* (cf. this Journal, 3, 3 [1942], pp. 457-8).

Mr. Lucas speaks of "serious omissions" in my bibliography, but he does not seem to realize that my bibliography is intended not to be complete or definitive in any sense; it aims to be selective and workable. Now, it is evident that one may not accept the reasons which led to a particular choice of books, and, obviously, there is room for many differences of opinion. One may regret the inclusion or the exclusion of some items, but one's preferences have to be shown to be more judicious than another's.

Mr. Lucas would have liked me to include in my list Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique*, whereas I cited only Pirenne's *Histoire de l'Europe des invasions au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1936); he also misses, in my bibliography, H. Martin's *Les joyaux de l'enluminure . . .* (1929), and, apparently, is not satisfied with my quoting Martin's *La miniature française* (1928), since he says: "It is regrettable that nothing dealing with the miniaturist's art is included." But it is even more curious to see him deplore the absence of a work which is duly cited, such as J. Calmette's *L'élaboration du Monde Moderne*.

Finally is he justified in complaining over "the absence of titles dealing with religion," when he remarks himself that I have listed books on scholastic philosophy, such as those by E. Gilson, E. Bréhier, M. de Wulf, as well as P. Vignaux's *Justification et Prédestination* or E. Perroy's *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*, R. Loenertz's *La société des frères pérégrinants*, G. de Lagarde's *La naissance de l'esprit laïque . . .* and others? Clearly, one cannot speak of a deliberate neglect, on my part, of an important aspect of the period I have been studying.

May I say that I am grateful to M. Lucas for the otherwise kind and just comments he makes, but may I be permitted also to correct the false impression which his review of my work conveys.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

MARCEL FRANCON

[EDITORIAL NOTE: The excerpt below is from a letter addressed to the Managing Editor by Professor Raymond D. Havens, of the Johns Hopkins University. Professor David's reply to Mr. Havens follows immediately.]

I think you should correct a mistake on page 464 of the last issue of the *MLQ*, in which Jean David gives the date of Lovejoy's "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*" (*MP*, XXI, 1923, 165-186) as 1933 and, therefore, four years after Wright's book instead of six years before it. The date matters little if it were not that David goes on to say that Lovejoy "made that interpretation familiar in America," whereas in fact it was Lovejoy's original discovery.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

May I thank Professor Havens for bringing to light this mistaken date, which in fact also appears twice in the book of Professor Schinz that I was reviewing (p. 185). On the larger issue, of the place to be accorded Professor Lovejoy's contribution to the history of this idea, I am still persuaded by Professor Schinz's judgment: ("cette nouvelle interprétation de Rousseau fit son chemin. En 1933 [read 1923] un article vigoureux de A. O. Lovejoy . . . la fit pénétrer en Amérique.") (p. 185; see also pp. 139, 183), inasmuch as Izoulet's dissertation of 1894 (p. 183) had already presented the essential point of this reinterpretation.

JEAN DAVID

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\* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.



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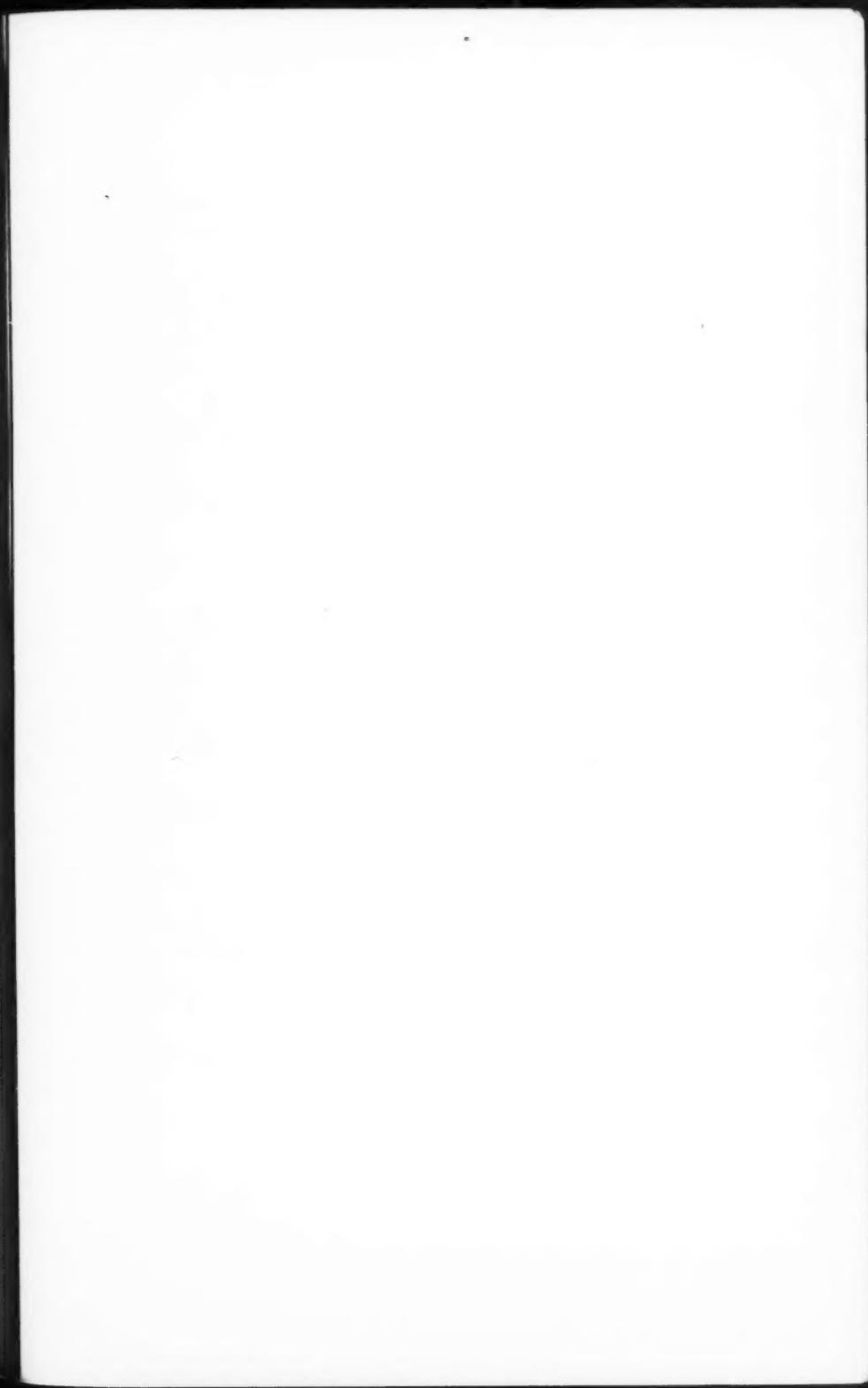
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